

LIVES OF JAMES G. BLAINE
AND JOHN A. LOGAN
AND HISTORY OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY.

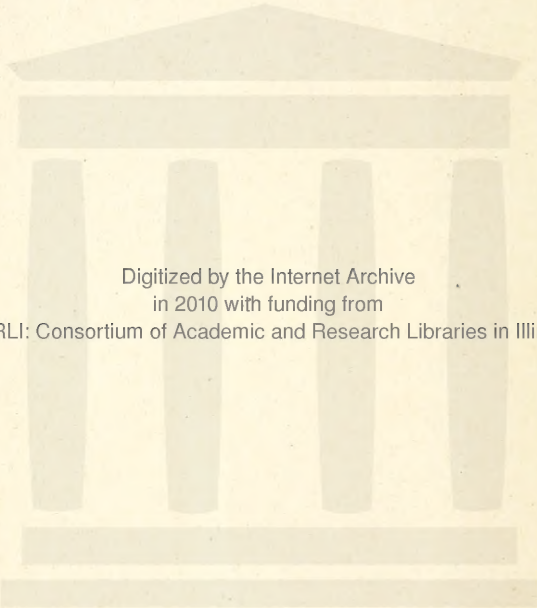


Friends of Morris Library

Gift in memoriam Leah
Hayes by Virginia
L. Marmaduke

Z/Gf274871





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from
CARLI: Consortium of Academic and Research Libraries in Illinois



James G. Thompson

EARLY LIFE AND PUBLIC CAREER

OF

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,

PATRIOT, STATESMAN AND HISTORIAN,

RECITING THE ANNALS OF HIS BRILLIANT CAREER FROM OBSCURITY TO
THE FOREMOST POSITION IN THE COUNCILS OF THE NATION
AND THE AFFECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

INCLUDING A BIOGRAPHY OF

GEN'L JOHN A. LOGAN,

AND EMBRACING A

HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

OF THE

REPUBLICAN PARTY,

WITH PLATFORMS OF BOTH PARTIES FROM 1856, AND OTHER
VALUABLE POLITICAL DOCUMENTS.

FULLY ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER ENGRAVINGS.

BY

WALTER R. HOUGHTON, A. M.

Professor Political Science, Indiana University, and author of "Conspectus
of the History of Political Parties," "Wall Chart of United States
History, Literature and Geography," "Wheels of State
and National Government," and "History
of American Politics."

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK:
CAXTON PUBLISHING COMPANY.

1884.

COPYRIGHT.

1884.

By JAMES CLARKE.

PRINTED AND BOUND BY
DONOHUE & HENNEBERRY,
CHICAGO.

PREFACE.

THE American Nation, through the instrumentality of the great political parties of our land, has entered upon a campaign which must ever be memorable in the political annals of the country.

Nominations have been made with the greatest foresight and wisdom, and political parties stand facing and opposing each other, importuning the people to hear their warning voice. The Democratic party, having suffered defeat after defeat, and its treasures having been drained without compensation, enters upon the canvass doubtful of its strength and without assurance of success.

On the other hand, the Republican party, proud of its achievements and principles, eager for the contest, vigorous and full of life, appeals to the American people with a confidence that insures success.

The career of this party is full of wonder.

It has accomplished for mankind more in the same length of time than any other political organization, and it looks upon its long career of supremacy and recalls to mind but few things for regret.

Its value to the country, its aid to the people and the justice of its cause, commend it to all voters for their continued acceptance of its rule. The nominees of this party are the pride of our republic, and their qualities are such as to unite all the shades of Republican belief in one unbroken rank of opposition to opposing political parties.

James G. Blaine is a great favorite of the American people, and as such will be the standard bearer of a campaign, as successful and brilliant as has been his career.

General Logan possesses those sterling attributes so much admired by our citizens, and which will render the Senate and Cabinet the possessor of one of America's ablest sons.

That the story of the celebrated career of James G. Blaine may be rendered accessible to all, and that the principles which his nomination involves may be clearly set forth, this publication has been designed and written. Whether or not the object is accomplished, the reader is left to judge.

WALTER R. HOUGHTON.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PART FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY AND PARENTAGE.

Ephraim Blaine Washington's Commissary General—James Gillespie Blaine, the diplomat—Family of Ephraim L. Blaine—Birthplace of James G. Blaine—Possessions of Ephraim L. Blaine—Brownsville, Pennsylvania.....15-20

CHAPTER II.

LIFE AT WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

Blaine's father, prothonotary—Family removes to Washington—Characteristics of James on entering college—Argumentative nature—Love for politics—Respect for instructors—Remarkable memory—Partial to journalism—Leader in college—Attendance at church—Graduates with honors.....21-28

CHAPTER III.

EDITOR AND STATE POLITICAL LEADER.

Professor in college—Defense of the oppressed—Marriage—Journalist in Maine—A State political leader29-33

CHAPTER IV.

A CONGRESSMAN FROM MAINE.

First efforts in Congress—Reconstruction period—Positive convictions34-41

CHAPTER V.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE.

During Forty-first Congress—Second election, Forty-second Congress—Takes the floor in self-defense—Credit-Mobilier investigation—Third election, Forty-third Congress—Reception of the Hawaiian king—Valedictory address—Retirement from the speaker's chair.....42-53

CHAPTER VI.

REPUBLICAN LEADER ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE.

Political acumen—Famous discussion on amnesty—Great speech on finances—"On Riders and Bribery"—Eyes of the nation toward him—Reasons for his candidacy—An alarming stroke.54-67

CHAPTER VII.

BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1876.

Proceedings of the convention—Speech of Colonel Ingersoll nominating Mr. Blaine—Speech of Hon. M. Turner, seconding the nomination of Mr. Blaine—Speech of William B. Frye—Balloting—Ballots on last day of the convention—The true spirit—Proposed amendment.....68-78

CHAPTER VIII.

MR. BLAINE A UNITED STATES SENATOR.

Successor to Senator Morrill—The silver dollar—Speech on currency at Biddeford—Violations of rights at elections—Tariff—Removing disabilities—Chinese immigration—Peace at the polls—Order out of chaos—Ohio campaign, 1879—Eulogy on Senator Chandler—The Republican National Convention, 1880—Speech of James F. Joy, nominating James G. Blaine—Speech of Mr. Pixley, seconding the nomination of James G. Blaine—Speech of William B. Frye, seconding the nomination of James G. Blaine—A look beyond.....79-128

CHAPTER IX.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Garfield's invitation—Extra session of the Senate—The immortal eighty days—Hopes of the nation—Neutrality of the Isthmian

canal—The war between Chili and Peru—Peace congress at Washington—Retirement of Secretary Blaine—President Arthur's foreign policy—Blaine's letter to President Arthur129-180

CHAPTER X.

BLAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Summary181-193

CHAPTER XI.

THE HISTORIAN AND PRIVATE CITIZEN.

Twenty years in Congress—At home—Characteristics of Mr. Blaine—Oration on Garfield.....194-203

CHAPTER XII.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, JUNE 3, 1884.

Speech of Judge West nominating James G. Blaine—Nomination seconded by Governor Davis—Nomination seconded by Thomas C. Platt204-214

CHAPTER XIII.

LOGAN, THE CIVILIAN.

Parentage, education—Lieutenant in Mexican war—A leading attorney—Marriage—A member of Congress215-225

CHAPTER XIV.

LOGAN, THE SOLDIER.

Congressman Logan at Bull Run—He returns to Washington and to "Egypt"—The sacrifices he made for the Union cause—The magical effect of his patriotic eloquence upon a howling mob—How he turned secession sympathizers into Union soldiers—How Southern Illinois was saved to the Union—The effect of his great influence there.....226-229

CHAPTER XV.

Colonel Logan at the battle of Belmont—His bravery and "admirable tactics"—His horse shot under him—His care for the proper

outfit and comfort of his men—Logan at Fort Henry—His intrepidity and skill at Fort Donelson—He is wounded and carried from the field, having earned a brigadier-generalship.....230-234

CHAPTER XVI.

General Logan in command of a brigade—His services at and about Corinth—General Sherman's appreciation of them—Logan solicited to return to Congress—His grandly patriotic refusal—"I have entered the field to die, if need be, for this government"—His only politics, his "attachment for the Union".....235-236

CHAPTER XVII.

General Logan leads the advance in the Northern Mississippi campaign—The return to Memphis, Tennessee—The campaign to and before Vicksburg—Logan in command of the third division of McPherson's corps—Canaling at Lake Providence—A bold proposal—Logan's men man the transports that run the terrible fire of Vicksburg's guns—The victory of Port Gibson—Logan's men determine the day—Battle of the Big Black—Logan flanks the enemy, who are driven again—Consequent evacuation of Grand Gulf—"The road to Vicksburg now open".....237-241

CHAPTER XVIII.

The battle of Raymond—Logan's division wins it—"One of the hardest small battles of the war"—Logan outflanks the enemy at the battle of Champion's Hill and secures victory to the Union arms—Retreat and rout of the enemy—"The most complete defeat of the Confederates since the commencement of the war".....242-248

CHAPTER XIX.

The siege of Vicksburg—"The Gibraltar of the South"—Logan at the center—Bombardment by land and water—the two desperate and bloody assaults—The regular siege works—Logan blows up Fort Hill, the "Melakoff" of Vicksburg—The fight of Logan's men in the crater—Logan's close approaches to the enemy's works—He advises a final assault, orders for which are issued—The armistice and surrender—Logan's column leads the entry—He is made military governor of Vicksburg, and receives a medal.....249-254

CHAPTER XX.

A military interlude—Logan takes the stump in support of the Lincoln administration—He attacks “the enemy in the rear”—His eloquent appeals to the patriotism of the North to stand by the government and its armies—The good they did to “the cause”.....255-259

CHAPTER XXI.

Logan in command of the fifteenth army corps—He orders as its corps badge a cartridge-box and “forty rounds”—The advance on Atlanta—The stubborn battle of Resaca—Logan’s victorious attack on the enemy’s flank—The battle of Dallas—Logan’s corps brilliantly repulses repeated charges of Hardee’s veteran corps—Logan’s gallant bearing at a critical moment—He is again wounded.....260-266

CHAPTER XXII.

The battle of Big Kenesaw Mountain—The desperate assault upon the impregnable face of Little Kenesaw Mountain—Wonderful discipline of our brave soldiers of the West—Unparalleled heroism of Logan and his men—On, through Marietta and Decatur, to the front of Atlanta.....267-269

CHAPTER XXIII.

The great battle of Atlanta—The death of the gallant McPherson—The heroic Logan succeeds him—Taking command of an army flanked in front and rear, with its idolized commander killed, and panic impending, Logan converts threatened disaster into victory—“The bloodiest battle of the West”—Logan’s personal prowess—One of the finest battle pictures of the war.....270-282

CHAPTER XXIV.

Another flank movement in a pitch-dark night, with Logan all night in the saddle—Logan’s military skill displayed—Howard’s appointment to command the Army of the Tennessee—Without a word Logan returns to his brave corps—The desperate battle of Ezra Chapel—Logan’s corps defeats the enemy’s army, repulsing six gallant charges.....283-288

CHAPTER XXV.

Logan again whips Lee's and Hardee's corps badly at the battle of Jonesboro'—Consequent evacuation of Atlanta—Logan's pathetic address to his gallant corps289-295

CHAPTER XXVI.

Another interlude—Logan on the stump again, defending the party of the Union—Assigned to the command of the Army of the Cumberland—Logan performs an act of rare magnanimity—He accordingly rejoins his old corps at Savannah.....296-297

CHAPTER XXVII.

He establishes the fifteenth corps in comfortable quarters—Returns to Illinois amid great rejoicing of her people—Mass-meeting at Carbondale—His eloquent and impassioned speeches—His return to the field and his promotion—Assumes command of three army corps—Strong sense of duty—Resumes command of the fifteenth corps—Mid-winter campaign—As a volunteer fireman—General Logan as he appeared at the final grand review of troops at Washington298-303

CHAPTER XXVIII.

General summary304-312

CHAPTER XXIX.

LOGAN'S SPEECHES.

Union speech at Chicago, August 10, 1863—A hero's eloquence—A brilliant battle picture by General John A. Logan—Letter of Honorable John A. Logan to Honorable John A. Rawlins, secretary of war, in regard to the importance of continuing the improvements of the Illinois River—Logan on the witness stand in the Credit Mobilier—Logan's popularity with the people—Logan at Fort Donelson—The Grant Triumvirate ensconced at the Capitol—Speech in the House of Representatives, July 12, 1867—Logan for Vice-President—General and Mrs. Logan.....313-380

CHAPTER XXX.

Life of Chester Allan Arthur.....381-389

CHAPTER XXXI.

Life of John Sherman.....390-396

CHAPTER XXXII.

Life of George F. Edmunds.....397-399

PART SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Inspiration to citizens—Unbroken success—Vastness of Republican enterprises.....403-404

CHAPTER II.

GROWTH OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

Slave oligarchy—Awakening of conscience—Missouri compromise—Nullification—National Anti-slavery society—Right of Petition—Abolition party—Barnburners—Free soil party—Compromise measures of 1850—Dissolution of the Whig party—Kansas-Nebraska bill—Anti-Nebraska party—Organization of the Republican party.....405-409

CHAPTER III.

FREE SOIL—FREE SPEECH—FREE LABOR—FREE MEN.

Resolutions as to free soil—Freedom, the normal condition of territory—Extended application of free soil doctrine—The twenty-first rule—Meaning of free speech—Slavery in the District of Columbia—Emancipation—Fugitive slave law—Republican success a necessity—Confidence lost in Democratic leaders—Lincoln's opinion on the perpetuity of the Union..410-413

CHAPTER IV.

NON-EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

Annexation of Texas—Wilmot proviso—The government for the Mexican cession—Purchase of Cuba—Fillibustering expeditions—Homestead bills—Resolution of Republican platforms, 1856 and 1880—Election of Lincoln.....414-416

CHAPTER V.

PRESERVATION OF THE UNION—REVIEW OF SECESSION MOVEMENTS.

Secession Confederate States of America—The Crittenden compromise—The peace convention—Inaugural address—Attempted adjustment of difficulties—The border States—Bombardment of Fort Sumter—Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand troops—Reply of Southern governors—Republican party in power.417-443

CHAPTER VI.

Extirpation of slavery.....444-448

CHAPTER VII.

The war party.....449-451

CHAPTER VIII.

A sound national currency—National banks—Specie resumption—
452-456

CHAPTER IX.

Amendments to the Constitution.....457-468

CHAPTER X.

The United States a Nation.....469-472

CHAPTER XI.

Reconstruction by Congress.....473-477

CHAPTER XII.

Tariff for the Protection of American Labor.....478-482

CHAPTER XIII.

Suppression of Polygamy.....483-486

CHAPTER XIV.

Development of the West.....487-488 °

CHAPTER XV.

Party Traditions.....489-492

CHAPTER XVI.

A Free Ballot and a Fair Count—Authority of the Govern-
ment.....493-499

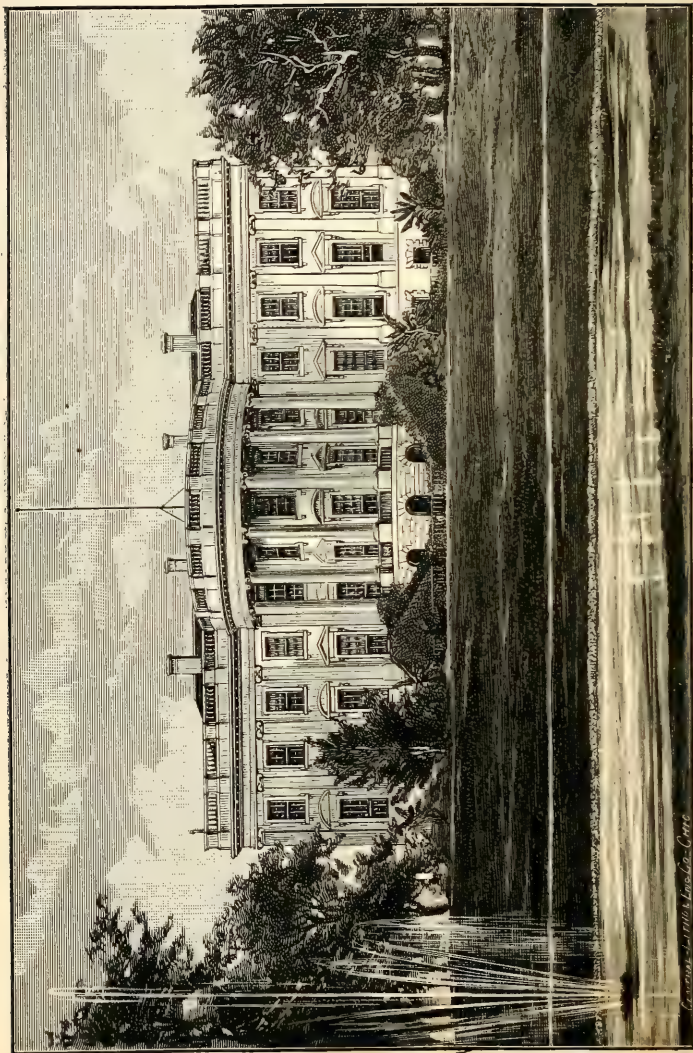
PART THIRD.

1856—Democratic Platform.....	503-508
1856—Republican Platform.....	508-510
1860—Republican Platform.....	510-513
1860—Democratic (Douglas) Platform.....	513-514
1860—Democratic (Breckinridge) Platform.....	514-515
1864—Republican Platform.....	515-517
1864—Democratic Platform.....	518-5
Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln.....	519-520
1868—Republican Platform.....	521-523
1868—Democratic Platform.....	523-526
1872—Liberal Republican Platform.....	526-528
1872—Democratic Platform.....	528-528
1872—Republican Platform.....	528-531
1872—Democratic (straight out) Platform.....	531-532
1876—Independent (Greenback) Platform.....	532-533
1876—Republican Platform.....	533-536
1876—Democratic Platform.....	536-541
1878—National Platform.....	541-543
1880—Republican Platform.....	543-
1884—Democratic Platform.....	555-

POLITICAL STATISTICS COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE
GOVERNMENT.

Rank of States, with Divisions of Population.....	563-564
Revenue Losses to the United States.....	565-565
Summary of Popular and Electoral votes.....	566-567
Statement showing expenditures.....	568-571
Summary of Popular and Electoral votes in Presidential elec- tions, 1789, 1880.....	572-573
Speakers of the House of Representatives.....	574-575
Presidents of the United States.....	576





THE EXECUTIVE MANSION, SOUTH FRONT.

Courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress

THE LIFE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY AND PARENTAGE.

EPHRAIM BLAINE, WASHINGTON'S COMMISSARY-GENERAL.

THE impoverished condition of Washington's army at Valley Forge, coupled with the lack of patriotism, prompted many inhabitants in the country about Philadelphia to take food and provisions to the British soldiers, from whom they received remuneration in a better currency than the continental money of the American soldiers. Colonel Walter Stewart wrote to General Washington on the 22d of January, 1778, and called attention to the conduct of the citizens in carrying food to the British army. Colonel Ephraim Blaine, who had received the title of commissary of purchases in Washington's army, was the officer set apart to counteract this conduct on the part of the inhabitants.

The general, amazed at the great amount of provisions reported to be going daily into Philadelphia, took measures to find out whether the action proceeded from the remissness of guards or from the connivance of the officers, and spoke to Colonel Blaine regarding the unwelcome intelligence and the inefficiency of his deputies. Commissary Blaine informed the general that he would look after the matter in person, or send a competent officer. In addition to this, Washington told General Lacey, who was well acquainted with the roads of the country, that if any particular mode of cutting off the pernicious communication

should occur to him, the same should be reported at once. The property taken was ordered to be seized without distinction, and persons captured were to be punished, since they could not plead ignorance of their crime, having had ample warnings. The commander-in-chief ordered that captures of provisions going into Philadelphia had to be made under the eye and with the approbation of a commissioned officer, or no forfeiture could take place. Provisions so taken were for the benefit of the captors, who received pay for them, provided they presented an authentic certificate of capture to Ephraim Blaine, the commissary of purchases in Washington's camp.

The preceding furnishes an instance of Colonel Ephraim Blaine's connection with the father of our country, and of the manner in which he did commendable service in sustaining his General through these perilous and evil times. In 1778 he received the title of Commissary-General of the Continental Army, and so continued until the end of the war. After the rebellion of the colonies resulted in a successful revolution he returned to private life, and became a leading and respectable citizen of Carlisle, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania.

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE, THE DIPLOMAT.

James Gillespie Blaine, the son of Colonel Ephraim Blaine, was educated as a lawyer. He visited Europe, and remained there for a number of years. His life abroad diverted his attention from pursuing the practice of his profession. Possessing independent means, he was enabled to follow a life of leisure. In 1793 he returned from Europe, having achieved a certain diplomatic distinction. He brought with him, as special bearer of dispatches, a famous treaty with a foreign power, since become memorable. On his return he made Carlisle, Pennsylvania, his home, chiefly following the life of a private gentleman, but subsequently removed to Brownsville, Pennsylvania, where he was made justice

of the peace, and was known as James Blaine, Senior. He was a man of commanding appearance, being broad-shouldered and six feet in height. A general favorite among the people, he was especially liked by the boys. He delighted to see improvement in the young, and would stop the school children upon the street, point to their books, inquire of their progress, and close the greeting with a cordial word of advice.

The household of this diplomat was made pleasant by the presence of four intelligent sons, named Ephraim L., James, Samuel and William. These boys, all studious, attended school in their native town, and were recognized as among the ready reciting pupils of their class. Though careful and obedient, they were spirited and full of life. William, the youngest, was especially mischievous, and was singled out as such by his teacher, who denominated the three youngest as "Blaine, Senior," "Blaine, Junior," and "Blaine, Rowdy."

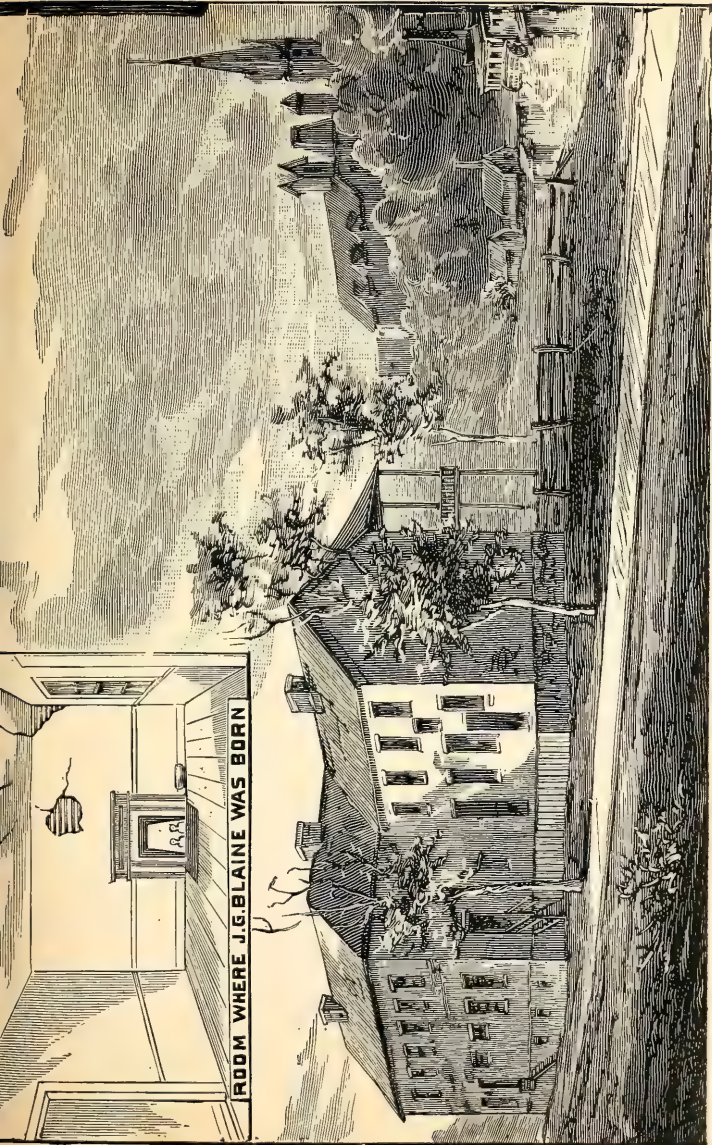
FAMILY OF EPHRAIM L. BLAINE.

Ephraim L. Blaine, the oldest of the four sons, born and reared in Carlisle before his father removed to Brownsville, was a well-educated young man for the day and place in which he lived. He traveled extensively beyond the borders of the United States, visiting Europe, the West Indies, and South America, before he made Washington county his home. At Brownsville, there was a noteworthy lady, Miss Maria, the daughter of Mr. Neal Gillespie, the head of a family well known in that section of the country, and interesting to a certain portion of the community as much for the attractiveness of his daughters as for his wealth and personal qualities. Miss Maria Gillespie, refined, gentle and beautiful, became the wife of Ephraim L. Blaine. Both were fond of society, and their winning qualities attracted young people to their house. Mr. Blaine was "tall, fine-looking and handsome, and with

eyes remarkable for their strength and brilliancy." He walked erect, dressed well, and went through the world with a stateliness that tended to attract attention. Mrs. Blaine, with winning ways and sterling nature, cultivated those special qualities which rendered her life pleasant and her company desirable. The children, following the inclination of their parents, were as a rule fond of society. Neal G. Blaine and Ephraim were the two oldest sons. Next to Ephraim was Eliza, who married a naval officer, Mr. Robert G. Walker, of Elizabethtown.

BIRTHPLACE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

The first stone house ever erected on the western side of the Monongahela river, located on Indian Hill Farm, in Washington county, Pennsylvania, was the home of this happy family. Here, on the thirty-first of January, 1830, was born the mother's favorite son, James Gillespie Blaine. For him, named after his grandfather, the diplomat, she prophesied fame; but it is hardly probable that her vision saw him the favorite of the people inhabiting the greatest republic that ever existed on the face of the earth. This house, built by the elder Neal Gillespie, and now famous, has the appearance of two buildings, though it is really one, the parts being connected by a covered alley-way between them. Although the building is over eighty years old, it is still occupied by tenants. A pilgrimage to the old homestead was made by Mr. Blaine six years ago, on which occasion he spent several hours alone in the room in which he was born. Within this house James G. Blaine spent part of his boyhood, but when he was about ten years old, his parents removed into a neighboring house in the town of West Brownsville. While a citizen of this place, Ephraim L. Blaine was justice of the peace, a place of considerable importance at that time, and was always highly esteemed by his neighbors.



ROOM WHERE J.G. BLAINE WAS BORN

RESIDENCE OF JAMES G. BLAINE
Drawn by our Special Artist. The only correct picture in existence.



POSSESSIONS OF EPHRAIM L. BLAINE.

He was the possessor of a generous heart, like many gentlemen of his time, and kept an open house, generally living beyond his means. Though this resulted in the dwindling of a handsome patrimony, he was a very successful business man, and the ample means left him by his father, James Gillespie Blaine, he invested in the purchase of great tracts of land in western Pennsylvania. These lands are, at the present, the site of numerous coal fields and iron mines, and are worth millions of dollars. Although he did not hold on to this property till anything of its modern value was discovered, yet he retained enough to leave a handsome patrimony to his son.

In 1825, this landowner deeded to the Economites, a band of socialists from Germany headed by Father Rapp, a splendid tract now occupied by the city of Pittsburgh. For this property he received twenty-five thousand dollars, little dreaming the many millions at which it would ultimately be valued. Ephraim Blaine was likewise the possessor of timber tracts on the Alleghany river, and coal lands on the Monongahela, which represent vast sums in the hands of their present owners. He left to his son James, highly valued coal tracts in the Monongahela valley. Their extent is but a part of what he might have hoped to inherit; but it is much greater in value than all the lands owned by his father a half century ago.

BROWNSVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA.

Brownsville, one of the oldest and quaintest villages in Pennsylvania, is located on the banks of the Monongahela river, some fifty miles above the city of Pittsburgh. It was famous in the days of the stage-coach as the head of western navigation, the old national road across the Alleghany mountains passing through it and affording a place for freight transfer from the road wagons to steamboats

which would ply down the Monongahela to Pittsburgh, connecting there with the big Ohio and Mississippi river steamboats. Now the town is a quiet but beautiful village, situated at the head of a valley unsurpassed for its natural resources, and made famous by its coke, coal, and other interests.

Brownsville proper is on the east side of the Monongahela, in Fayette county, Pennsylvania. On the west side of the river in Washington county, in the same State, is West Brownsville, the early home of Mr. Blaine, and the place that is now of so much interest, and toward which, in every section of the Union, all eyes are turned. A ferry opposite the old Gillespie House, affording transportation across the river, and connecting these towns, was at one time kept by Ephraim L. Blaine. Prior to 1842 the family of this gentleman lived at West Brownsville, but in this year an event occurred that occasioned removal to the county seat, and henceforth the name of Washington becomes intimately connected with that of Blaine.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE AT WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

BLAINE'S FATHER, PROTHONOTARY.

THE advantages of education thrust in the way of James G. Blaine were accidental, yet of the most desirable kind. Before entering college he spent a year at Lancaster, Ohio, where he had special instructors and the advantage of a preliminary training school with his relatives, the family of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, then secretary of the treasury. He had for a classmate his cousin, General Thomas Ewing, who was recently in Congress. These boys were under the tuition of William Lyons, an Englishman, a brother of the elder Lord Lyons and uncle of the Lord Lyons who was recently a British minister at Washington. At the expiration of twelve months an event of accidental occurrence called the youth back to Pennsylvania. There was now an opportunity to send the boy to school a number of years, and advantage was taken of it, for the father took special pains to give his son a thorough intellectual training. It was with this idea that the boy was sent to Ohio the previous year.

The Democratic party was dominant at that time in Washington county, but on account of alleged unfairness in the nomination for prothonotary, the party presented two candidates—Squire James Pollock and Zachariah Reynolds. This was in the election of 1842. The chance for the Whigs was good. They nominated Ephraim L. Blaine for prothonotary (clerk of the district court), and succeeded in electing their candidate. This success was especially gratifying to Mr. Blaine, for it opened the way

by which his son James would have the advantage of a collegiate training.

FAMILY REMOVES TO WASHINGTON.

The duties of prothonotary required the presence of Mr. Blaine at the county seat of Washington county. Living on the Monongahela river, and in the extreme eastern part of the county, he decided to move his family to Washington, the place where his duties would be performed, and accordingly, in December, of 1842, the removal was made and the family were at their new home, in a town destined to be ever memorable in the annals of the Republic.

Here was located Washington College, a Presbyterian institution of learning, to which James G. Blaine, then aged twelve years, was at once admitted. Herein was a most fortuitous event in the life of the youth who would soon develop so rapidly. The election of his father had rendered his higher education a certainty, and the thought was highly gratifying, for without the advantages of this office at the county seat the willing parent could not maintain his son in college.

CHARACTERISTICS OF JAMES ON ENTERING COLLEGE.

When Ephraim Blaine moved to Washington, Pennsylvania, the youthful collegian was familiarly known as "Jim." A lady who frequently visited Mrs. Blaine, and who was attending the seminary while James was a student, relates that all the family were fond of society, excepting Jim. She never knew him to go into the parlor when any one was there. His idea was a book, and he would read anything he could get his hands on. She had been visiting his mother a long time before she met him; though she knew there was a Jim in the family, he had never come within range of her vision. Speaking of her first sight of him, she says: "I was going to his mother's, and he was coming down the steps, as I approached,

There were four or five steps, and he was down before I started up, but he turned to look, walking one way, with his eyes another, until his foot caught on the cellar-door. He fell down full length, and the books he was carrying were scattered in every direction. I had just reached the top of the steps in time to see him fall, and I stood laughing immoderately—laughed until he had good cause to grow angry. He got up, blushing, and took my bad behavior good-naturedly. He was not a fine looking boy at that stage of his career. His development was just then beginning. He had the frame for the large man he is now, but then he was very thin and ungainly looking; his clothes never seemed to fit, and he was not careful about the way he dressed or kept himself fixed. At that age I never saw him looking tidy. His hobby for books told on him, and his whole appearance said that he was a student. He was just at the age when boys cannot be made to look nice. As he grew older and began to fill out he became more careful, and by the time he graduated he was a fine looking youth.”

This statement accords with other narratives on the same subject, all indicating that Jim was shy and reserved, afraid of the girls, troubled about the proper disposition of his hands and feet, and giving no indication of the true metal that contact with the world was ultimately to bring from its hiding-place beneath the surface. Such was the boy when he entered college. But not long was he to be the subject of such a description. Improvements on these features were so rapid that the statements concerning him in other parts of his college course would seem to apply to another individual. Indeed, the great transformation which a college course makes upon the average college graduate was applicable to him in an unusual degree. He was familiarly known among the students and in town as stout, rugged and full of vim. His work in college was up to the standard desired by his parents,

He was regarded by his college class-mates as a brilliant and progressive student, being very "smart" and excelling alike in mathematics and the sciences. He was the most skilled mathematician in his class, and would sometimes demonstrate a problem in a way not found in the text. The professor was sometimes known to say, "Mr. Blaine, you are not demonstrating that in the proper way." "I know I am not, would be the reply, but give me a chance to work it out, and you will see it come out all right." And the result would be as he stated.

Bright and industrious, he made early morning his favorite time for study, and after breakfast he usually indulged in a brisk walk. Fond of exercising, he could "outrun and outjump any of his classmates." Athletic sports were limited at that time, but he had certainly his share of what there were. Yet this fondness for outdoor sports was not carried to excess, for best of all, he loved the seclusion of his books.

In his literary society he did not seem to aspire after honors, but his proclivities were in an argumentative direction. His whole aim was set on superiority in the college work, and this he achieved in an unusual degree. When president of the society, he exhibited great executive ability, and thus foreshadowed that parliamentary skill which he wielded with such efficiency in later years.

ARGUMENTATIVE NATURE.

He was always at home in an argument, and generally invited the same. His room was debating headquarters, where he would sit and talk politics as long as he could get any one to talk back or listen. He desired an opponent, but if he was unable to get one he was content if any person would sit and listen to him. He had a fashion of sitting at the table with his feet elevated in such a manner that he could swing his right hand around and hit the table. In this attitude he was prone to sit and prolong

his discussions. "Many a night," said an old room-mate, "have I plead with him to stop and let me go to sleep; but the only way to accomplish this was to put out the visitors and the lights at the same time; then James had to go to bed."

LOVE FOR POLITICS.

The Democratic politicians delighted to engage him in political discussions, for then he was well versed in political history, and to the very last ardently supported the doctrine of the Whig party. During his second collegiate year, in 1844, the party lines were drawn unusually close regarding some widely discussed questions, that led to the Mexican war, and so ready was the young Mr. Blaine on all these topics that his arguments became matters of general remark. It was during this year that the Whigs had, near the college, a log cabin, which they used as their headquarters, and which was the scene of frequent meetings, whereat Mr. Blaine was an active and aggressive worker in defense of the Whig policy. He was what is called a born politician. His grandfather had been in political life as justice of the peace, a place of consequence in those times; his father had been both justice of the peace and prothonotary, and it was but natural that his son in college, with versatility of talent, fondness for argument, and aggressive as to temperament, should develop into a politician. He was an ardent Clay man, and admired his hero so much that it has been supposed he got some of his peculiar powers from a study of the life and character of the great western compromiser. He became intensely interested in politics, while in college, during the presidential campaign of Clay and Polk in 1844. It is asserted by those who have had an opportunity to judge, that the manners of Mr. Blaine, as speaker of the House, greatly resembled those of Henry Clay in the same position.

RESPECT FOR INSTRUCTORS.

The youthful Blaine won the respect and confidence of his teachers. During two terms of his course he boarded at the house of Professor Nicholas Murry, who held the chair of Ancient Languages at Washington College for nearly fifteen years. Between this professor and James Blaine there always existed the warmest friendship, which lasted as long as the professor lived. After his death the alumni of the college erected a monument to his memory, which to-day stands upon the campus, the inscription being in Latin. Mr. Blaine was among the first to engage in the work of raising subscriptions among the college boys.

REMARKABLE MEMORY.

The leading and preponderating quality of this young student's mind was a remarkable memory. In this he far excelled every other member of his class, and this natural gift, which he greatly strengthened by rigid discipline, is the secret of his grand success in public life. Being a great reader of history and very methodical in his arrangement of facts, he could in an instant present an array of arguments that would overwhelm any opponent. On his "fingers' ends he had national, state and county affairs; was familiar with men and measures," and could enumerate all of them with unusual readiness. When he was a little boy, his sister challenged him to a contest in naming the counties in the State of Pennsylvania. She named them all, and he immediately named them, and every county seat besides.

PARTIAL TO JOURNALISM.

From his earliest college days he seemed to have an especial ambition to make his mark as a journalist. He was an industrious writer, and prepared, perhaps, during his college course, a greater number and a greater variety

of essays than any other member of his class. Some of his essays, written when he was a student, are still extant, and are worthy of publication in the best of magazines. It was sometimes remarked by him that a school-teacher or an editor could accomplish more good in this world than any one else; and he thought after leaving college that he would surely enter the newspaper business. Had he followed this profession exclusively he would most probably have shone with the same brilliancy that has marked his career in political life.

LEADER IN COLLEGE.

He was a social, good fellow, and clever in his manner, exhibiting the same traits that have since made him so influential among men. He was always considered a leader among the students, being conspicuous in his ability to control others; and if anything was going on outside, he was sure to assert himself and make his presence felt. In his own classes he was always foremost as a scholar, and personally very popular. To the new scholars who entered in succeeding classes he was a hero: uniformly kind to them, ready to give advice and assistance, and eager to make pleasant their path in college life. The appearance which he manifested when entering college wore away, and his handsome and neat attire, his ready sympathy and prompt assistance, his frank and generous nature, and his brave and manly bearing, made him the best known, the best beloved, and the most popular boy at college. He was the arbiter among the young boys in all their disputes, and the authority with those of his own age on all questions. As to knowledge of politics, he was far above every one else in college. He was a close student, and possessed the happy faculty of assimilating knowledge from books and teachers far more easily and quickly than most of his fellows. He showed in a most marked degree the "qualities of quick apprehension of all advantages and difficulties in

his road and perfect command of all resources for instantaneous use. His ability to give utterance to anything he had to say in the most forcible way was noticeable in his wrangles or political discussions with his fellow students." One distinctive mark of his character was absolute self-control under exciting and difficult circumstances.

ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH.

While at college Mr. Blaine, being a great hand for a sermon, attended the Presbyterian church and Sunday-school, his face never being missed in the old-fashioned gallery where the students had their places. "His mother," says a college mate, "was a devout Catholic, and one of the best women that ever lived. No one was more highly esteemed by her neighbors, nor could any mother be more conscientious or exemplary in her life. He always had a deep respect for his mother's faith, but never in all our talks did he show any affection for it. His relatives and friends were all, outside of his immediate family, Presbyterians, and that is the only faith to which he ever showed any tendency."

GRADUATES WITH HONORS.

After an attendance of five years at college, having won a reputation as a scientist, a mathematician, an historian, an essayist, a debator, and a presiding officer, he graduated in 1847 with the first honors of his class, ready to go forth into the world, and well prepared in the acquirements and training that fit him to deal with the problems of practical life, bearing as a crown of youthful honor the affection and esteem of all his associates. On this occasion his thirty classmates began the active duties of life, recognizing James G. Blaine as their leader, an honor subsequently accorded him by his Commonwealth, and afterward by all the States of the Union.

CHAPTER III.

EDITOR AND STATE POLITICAL LEADER.

PROFESSOR IN COLLEGE.

WHEN the young Blaine graduated he was seventeen years and eight months old, and too young to meet with that support in a profession which maturity of years, coupled with ability, always secures. Accordingly, Mr. Blaine did not at once engage in professional duties, but remained a while at home. Here he could not stay long in justice to himself, for his father's earnings as prothonotary were almost insufficient to maintain his large family, and, as a consequence, the youth looked elsewhere for occupation. He decided to engage in the work of giving instruction, for which his college course had prepared him, and following the example of Webster, and Lincoln, and Sumner, and Douglas, he began his career by teaching. He went to Kentucky with the object of teaching school in the country, and became professor in the Western Military Institute, located at Blue Lick Springs, about four hundred and fifty boys being in attendance at the school. A retired officer who was a student there at the time relates that Professor Blaine was then a handsome, earnest young man, with the same fascinating manners that have always been attached to him since he attained his national reputation. He was from the first popular with the boys, who trusted him, made friends with him, and became warmly attached to him. Here he used his excellent memory to good advantage. He knew the given names of all the four hundred and fifty boys, and understood their strong points and shortcomings. An occurrence at college afforded

evidence of his great personal courage. During a fight between the faculty of the school and the owners of the Springs, involving some questions about the removal of the school, he behaved in the bravest manner, exerting himself to keep down mental excitement. Knives and revolvers were used with freedom, but the young teacher used only his well-disciplined muscles.

DEFENSE OF THE OPPRESSED.

The late John F. Edmonds, of Hopkinsville, Kentucky, a gentleman of fine culture and popularity in the southwest relates that Professor Blaine stood bravely by him in trouble while he was a college boy at the Military Institute. "I shall never forget his manly, generous friendship," remarked the gentleman. "I was involved in a difficulty with a boy belonging to a wealthy and influential family, and in the course of the quarrel he applied a vulgar epithet to my mother, for which I knocked him down. I was arraigned before the faculty, sharply reprov'd for violating college rules, and threatened with disgrace if I did not make an ample apology. The faculty were all against me except Prof. Blaine. He arose and with much warmth and feeling said that he could not withhold his sympathy for a boy when love and reverence for his mother had involved him in trouble. 'This boy,' said he, 'only resented a foul insult to his absent mother. What boy of manliness and honor, especially with the peculiar training of a Kentucky boy, would not resent such an insult more quickly than an insult offered to himself? I will not only not consent to censure him, but say that I think he did right, and that I feel more like praising than reprov'ing him.' This brief, magnetic speech worked like magic on the strict minds of the faculty, and the offender was turned loose with a gentle admonition." The hearty sympathy herein manifested is part of Mr. Blaine's nature, and shows itself for the

oppressed on all occasions. It is one of those popular touches of nature that make the people kin to great national leaders like Henry Clay and James G. Blaine.

MARRIAGE.

The principal of the military school was Colonel Thornton F. Johnson, and his wife had a school for young ladies at Millersburg, twenty miles distant from Blue Lick Springs. It was at this place that Professor Blaine met Miss Stanford, a lady belonging to an excellent family in Massachusetts. She subsequently became his wife. After spending a year or two at teaching, Mr. Blaine made up his mind to return to Pennsylvania and engage in another pursuit. He began the study of law, read it carefully, obtained a thorough knowledge of its principles, but never presented himself as a candidate for admission to the bar.

JOURNALIST IN MAINE.

After her marriage to Mr. Blaine, Miss Stanford, being a native of Maine, was anxious for him to make that state his home. This he determined to do, and in 1853 the young couple removed to Augusta, where they have ever since made their home, though temporarily residing in Washington. The following year Mr. Blaine entered into partnership with Joseph Baker, a prominent lawyer of that town, and the two purchased the *Kennebec Journal*, of which Mr. Blaine at once became editor. The *Journal* was a weekly paper, one of the organs of the Whig party, and exercised considerable political influence. This paper had the state printing, yet the income was insufficient for Mr. Blaine's support. In vain did he endeavor to obtain a salary of twelve hundred dollars. This prompted him, in 1857, to dispose of his interest in the *Journal*, and assume the editorship of the *Portland Daily Advertiser*. In the campaign of 1860 he returned temporarily to his old post on the *Kennebec Journal*, on account of the illness

of its editor. His career in journalism lasted only six years, but was marked throughout by ability and success, and it served to give him a good introduction to the world of politics and statesmanship.

A STATE POLITICAL LEADER.

When the old Whig party went to pieces, Mr. Blaine joined hands with Governor Anson P. Morrill in organizing the Republican party in the Pine Tree State. His vigorous attacks upon Buchanan's Administration made him a power in the new organization. Journalism rapidly led him into politics.

“He first acquired reputation as a speaker in the Fremont campaign in 1856. He was a delegate to the first National Convention of the Republican party at Philadelphia, which put General Fremont in nomination for the Presidency. He was one of the secretaries of the convention. When he returned, he was called upon at a ratification meeting to give a report of the doings of the convention, and then made the maiden speech of his life. At that time he had exhibited all the qualifications of an orator, but had never ventured upon the public platform. He seemed to have a strong fear of addressing a public audience, and it was only after much persuasion that he consented on this occasion to speak. When he arose to his feet he was in such a state of perturbation and embarrassment that it was some time before he was able to command himself so as to begin to talk. From the moment he got possession of his voice he continued, and made one of the finest speeches he ever made in his life.”

In 1858, when he was in his twenty-ninth year, Mr. Blaine was elected by the people a member of the Maine Legislature, and by his fellow members, in 1860, speaker of the lower branch of that body. He availed himself of that opportunity to perfect the knowledge of parliamentary law that enabled him later to direct with marked ability the pro-

ceedings of the House of Representatives. He was elected a member of Congress seven terms by the following majorities:

1862.....	3,422	1870.....	2,320
1864.....	4,328	1872.....	3,568
1866.....	6,591	1874.....	2,830
1868.....	3,346		

“Almost from the day of his assuming editorial charge of the *Kennebec Journal*, at the age of twenty-three, Mr. Blaine,” writes Governor Kent, “sprang into a position of great influence in the politics and policy of Maine. At twenty-five he was a leading power in the councils of the party, so recognized by Fessenden, Hamlin and the two Morrills, and others then and still prominent in the State. Before he was twenty-nine he was chosen Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican organization in Maine—a position from which he has shaped and directed political campaigns in the State—leading his party to brilliant victory. Had Mr. Blaine been New-England born, he would probably not have received such rapid advancement at so early an age, even with the same ability he possessed. But there was a sort of Western *dash* about him that took with us Down-Easters—an expression of frankness, candor, and confidence that gave him, from the start, a very strong and permanent hold on our people, and, as the foundation of all, pure character and a masterly ability equal to all demands made upon him.”

CHAPTER IV.

A CONGRESSMAN FROM MAINE.

FIRST EFFORTS IN CONGRESS.

THE estimation in which Mr. Blaine was held as editor and state political leader, drew to his support the voters of his congressional district. In 1862 he was elected a Representative to Congress, having received in Kennebec district a majority of three thousand votes. A long career in the National Legislature followed this election. The House at that time was noted for its men of talent. Among his colleagues were E. B. Washburne, of Illinois; George W. Julian, of Indiana; James A. Garfield, of Ohio; Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, and many other men of national reputation. None surpassed Bingham, of Ohio, in aptness of debate, yet Thaddeus Stevens, the "great commoner," was the Ajax of the day. It is doubtful whether he had a peer in the House or out of it.

Among these Mr. Blaine was soon recognized as a man of ability, and destined to have an influence which would be felt, and increase with time. He delivered a speech on the ability of the American people to suppress the rebellion, which, with other things, elicited from Thaddeus Stevens the compliment that Mr. Blaine, of Maine, had shown as great aptitude and ability for the higher walks of public life as any man that had come to Congress during his period of service. The approbation with which this speech was received, influenced the National Committee to circulate two hundred thousand copies of it as a campaign document during the Presidential canvass of 1864.

Though Mr. Blaine during his first term gave himself up, in a great measure, to study and observation, yet Congress had not been in session three weeks before his voice was heard on the floor of the House. On the 21st of December that body suspended the rules and went into a committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and during a discussion regarding an appropriation, Mr. Blaine read a paragraph from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which he designed as settling all that might be said about commutation money from drafted citizens. Thus early did Mr. Blaine manifest his watchfulness and indicate his knowledge of public affairs. These qualities were again shown on the 6th of January, 1864, when he offered a resolution providing for the distribution of prize money to officers and seamen of our navy, asserting that the prolonged delay in this was working serious injury to the service, by retarding enlistments, as the result of creating a distrust in the good faith of the government.

The representative from Maine has always been a zealous guardian of the interests of the states. Feeling that they should not be burdened by debts for prosecuting the war, he submitted a resolution to the House, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to ascertain the amount of debts incurred in the several states in their effort to aid in suppressing the rebellion, and providing that all debts legitimately and necessarily contracted for this purpose should be ultimately assumed and liquidated by the General Government.

Mr. Blaine's information is extensive and varied. During the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, he spoke on bills relating to the adjustment of the revenue, conscription for the army, tariff for protection, appropriations for government, the slave law for fugitive slaves, expenses for the war, and other topics of similar interest and importance.

During the second session of the same Congress, whether

the subject of discussion was coinage, or cabinet officers, or the military academy, or calling out the national forces, or the fisheries, or resolutions amending the rules, Mr. Blaine was ready to be heard, manifesting an aptness for his duties and an interest in his work. He was an industrious committeeman, and as a member of the post-office committee first made his reputation in Congress. He took an active part in co-operation with the chairman, Hon. J. B. Alley, and Mr. Brooks, of New York, in establishing the system of postal cars now in use all over the country. No attempt at distribution of mail on the cars had been made on a large scale, prior to the efforts of this committee, on which Mr. Blaine was so efficient. Appropriations for this enlarged service were made, but not without opposition.

Soon after entering Congress he attracted the attention of Lincoln. It was the young representative's habit at the outset of his career to make short, crisp speeches. He never occupied at these more than a page of the Congressional Record, and never spoke unless he had something to say. This attracted Lincoln's attention. He was almost the first man to divine Blaine's future, and accurately prophesy what he would accomplish.

Mr. Blaine would not allow insinuating remarks upon the State he represented. S. S. Cox, of Ohio, having cast some reflections upon Maine, Mr. Blaine took occasion to say that no State was more attached to the Federal Union than Maine, that her affections and her pride were centered in the Union, and that she had contributed her best blood and treasure without stint in supporting the war for the Union, and that she would so continue till the end of the struggle. He resented the insinuation that she derived an undue advantage from federal legislation, or that she got a single dollar that she did not pay back. He would not allow the State of Maine to be slandered by the gentleman from Ohio, or by gentlemen from any other

State. "The sentiment of Maine is loyal to the core," he said, "and she has shown her loyalty by complying with patriotic readiness to all demands thus far made upon her for soldiers to recruit the army, or for sailors to man the navy." In June, 1864, there was a conscription bill before Congress, which provided harsh measures toward citizens that had not enlisted in the war. It was merciless and sweeping in its nature. Mr. Blaine opposed this, and advocated commutation and substitution, as sufficiently effective if judiciously enforced. Such a conscription as the one under consideration was never resorted to but once, even in the French empire under the absolutism of the First Napoleon, and for the Congress of the United States to attempt its enforcement upon their constituents was to ignore the first principles of republican and representative government. The pending measure was so severe that Mr. Blaine did not believe it would receive the support of a respectable minority in any district of the loyal states.

The enrollment bill was under consideration in the House, February, 1865, and Mr. Blaine moved to amend the second section thereof, by providing that in "any call for troops no county, town, township, ward, precinct or election district shall have credit, except for men actually furnished on said call, or preceding call, by said county, town, township, ward, precinct, or election district, and mustered into the military or naval service on the quota thereof." This amendment was leveled at substitute brokers, who were selling credits obtained in some mysterious way, as one would sell town script in the market, and from this source had arisen a large amount of constructive "paper credits."

Mr. Blaine would not allow, without protest, anything to happen that would discourage and dishearten the brave men at the front who were enduring the dangers of the battle field, and he believed that proper measures adopted

at home for the relief and protection of the soldiers, were supports to the gallant ones, which should never be neglected. "Let us, then," remarked he, "in this hour of triumph to the national arms, do our duty here, our duty to the troops in the field, our duty to our constituents at home, and our duty, above all, to our country, whose existence has been in such peril in the past, but whose future of greatness and glory seems now so assured and so radiant." Toward the close of the war, when drafting had caused disorder in many parts of the country, every State and constituency wanted to be credited, right or wrong, with as many men as possible. James B. Fry was provost-martial-general under Secretary Stanton. He was understood to be a citizen of Maine. Mr. Conkling took Fry to task for not having given due credit to the State of New York in the matter of troops. Mr. Blaine defended General Fry, and Mr. Conkling, impatient of opposition, fell on Mr. Blaine expecting to crush him; but he met his match, and retired from the wordy contest. From this is dated the reported lack of friendship between these two distinguished gentlemen.

The period of the Thirty-ninth Congress witnessed the evolution of new and difficult issues; yet Mr. Blaine advanced with the times, and was prepared for the new tasks as they appeared before him. Among the numerous things for consideration, there were the all-important ones of the hostile attitude of President Johnson and the reconstruction of the States which had been in rebellion. It was during this Congress that Mr. Blaine gained national prominence, and henceforth to the end of his congressional career occupied a foremost place among the Republican leaders.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD.

The work of Congress during the reconstruction period stands alone in the annals of governmental history. That

body was compelled to act without a model, and without a guide. Yet it was equal to the task, and Mr. Blaine was found on every measure, energetic and intelligent. On this subject he made many speeches which attracted a great deal of attention, and spread his fame as an orator.

In January, 1868, he introduced a resolution in relation to Congressional representation, which was referred to the reconstruction committee, and was subsequently made the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment. No other part of Congressional history is so instructive and valuable as that setting forth the discussions on the great series of reconstruction questions, in which Mr. Blaine so prominently figured.

POSITIVE CONVICTIONS.

Mr. Blaine is not a two-sided man. His views on all public questions have been clearly defined and boldly announced. In February, 1866, he declared for protection as follows: "In theory and in practice, I am for protecting American industry in all its forms, and to this end we must encourage American manufactures, and we must equally encourage American commerce."

In December of the same year, when citizens in some of the states were not protected in their rights, and when the subject before the House was, "What the Government Owes its Subjects," Mr. Blaine spoke as follows: "Among the most solemn duties of a sovereign government is the protection of those citizens who, under great temptations and amid great perils, maintain their faith and their loyalty. The obligation of the Federal government to protect the loyalists of the South is supreme, and they must take all needful means to assure that protection. Among the most needful is the gift of free suffrage, and that must be guaranteed. There is no protection you can extend to a man so effective and conclusive as the power to protect himself. And in assuring protection to the loyal citizen you assure permanency to the government; so that

the bestowal of suffrage is not merely the discharge of a personal obligation toward those who are enfranchised, but it is the most far-sighted provision against social disorder, the surest guaranty for peace, prosperity and public justice."

A portion of 1867 Mr. Blaine spent in Europe; and while there General Butler, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, started the theory of paying off the public debt in greenbacks. This proposition was assaulted by Mr. Blaine soon after his return to America. The remarks were made in Congress in November, and Mr. Blaine was the first man of national reputation in either branch of the legislative department to attack the proposition enunciated by General Butler; and since that time, Mr. Blaine, in Congress, out of Congress, in the East, and in the West, has been more prominent than any other man in reaching the mind and arousing the popular judgment on the question of the proper financial standing.

In November, 1868, General Grant became the choice of the American people for president, and a feeling of satisfaction pervaded the land at the thought that our helm of state would be managed during the succeeding administration by a man so honored and so respected as the hero of Appomattox. Mr. Blaine shared in this feeling, and thought that General Grant's administration would have high vantage ground from the day of its inauguration. He felt that the executive qualities of the administration would be all that the people expected, and based his belief on the remembrance that great military leaders have uniformly proved the wisest, firmest and best of civic rulers. "Cromwell, William III., Charles XII., Frederick of Prussia—are not," said Mr. Blaine, "more conspicuous instances, in monarchical government than Washington, Jackson and Taylor have proved in our own. Whatever, therefore, may lie before us in the untrodden and often beclouded path of the future, whether it be

financial embarrassment, or domestic trouble of another and more serious type, or misunderstandings with foreign nations, or the extension of our flag and our sovereignty over insular or continental possessions, north or south, that fate or fortune may peacefully offer to our ambition—let us believe with all confidence that General Grant's administration will meet every exigency, with the courage, the ability and the conscience which American nationality and Christian civilization demand."

CHAPTER V.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE.

DURING FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

ON the 4th of March, 1869, the long nightmare of Andrew Johnson passed away, and the country, shaking from its breast the frightful incubus, was arousing itself to a pleasant awakening of the bright and cheery dawn of a new administration. President Grant was inaugurated amid imposing and memorable ceremonies, and Speaker Colfax having delivered his farewell address, was tendered a complimentary vote of thanks, whereupon, Mr. James G. Blaine, having just been chosen Speaker, and conducted to the chair, addressed the House in a speech, setting forth his feelings on that auspicious occasion. He was profoundly thankful for the great honor conferred upon him; and it was indeed an honor, for he was succeeding to a chair made illustrious by the services of such eminent statesmen and skilled parliamentarians as Clay, Stevenson, Polk, Winthrop, Banks, Grow and Colfax, and he well distrusted his ability to meet the just expectations of those who had shown him such marked partiality. Yet he hoped to perform all duties faithfully and fearlessly, and to retain the confidence and kindly regard of his generous supporters. He stated that the Forty-first Congress had assembled at an auspicious period in the history of the government, and that the splendid and impressive ceremonial which they had just witnessed in another part of the capitol, "appropriately symbolized the triumphs of the past, and the hopes of the future." The Speaker closed by saying: "A great chieftain, whose sword, at the head of gallant and victorious

armies, saved the republic from dismemberment and ruin, has been fitly called to the highest civic honor which a grateful people can bestow. Sustained by a Congress that so ably represents the loyalty, the patriotism, and the personal worth of the nation, the President this day inaugurated will assure to the country an administration of purity, fidelity and prosperity; an era of liberty regulated by law, and of law thoroughly inspired with liberty. Congratulating you, gentlemen, upon the happy auguries of the day, and invoking the gracious blessing of Almighty God on the arduous and responsible labors before you, I am now ready to take the oath of office, and enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have called me."

After two years of faithful attention to duty, Mr. Blaine received the thanks of the House, and in adjourning the assembly took occasion to state that the Congress which then closed enjoyed a memorable distinction in that it was the first in which all of the States had been represented on that floor, since the baleful winter that preceded the late bloody war. "Ten years have passed since then," continued the Speaker; "years of wild destruction and years of careful rebuilding; and after all, and as the result of all, the National Government is here to-day, united, strong, proud, defiant and just, with a territorial area vastly expanded, and with three additional States represented on the folds of its flag. For these prosperous fruits of our great struggle let us humbly give thanks to the God of battles and to the Prince of Peace. And now, gentlemen, with one more expression of the obligation I feel for the considerate kindness with which you have always sustained me, I perform the only remaining duty of my office, in declaring, as I now do, that the House of Representatives of the Forty-first Congress is adjourned without day."

SECOND ELECTION, FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

On the following day, the first session of the Forty-

second Congress convened, and Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, opposing George W. Morgan, of Ohio, was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives by a vote of 126 to 92. When Mr. Blaine had taken the chair, he addressed the House in language which showed that he deemed his re-election an enviable honor, and one which carried with it the peculiar gratification that it implied an approval of his official bearing. The duty of Speaker required him to give to the minority their full rights under the rules which he was called upon to administer, and the successful working of our grand system of government, he remarked, depended largely upon the vigilance of party organizations, in which the opposing forces watched and balanced one another. He concluded by trusting the official intercourse would be free from all personal asperity, believing that all their labors would eventuate for the public good.

TAKES THE FLOOR IN SELF-DEFENSE.

While performing the duties of Speaker, Mr. Blaine did not put himself before the House as an advocate of any partisan measure, but in self-protection he was ever willing to defend himself. In March of 1871 a resolution was before that body providing for an investigation into alleged outrages perpetrated upon the loyal citizens of the South. Mr. Butler, of Massachusetts, indulged in criticisms upon the Speaker for being the author of the resolution, and for being mainly responsible for its adoption by a caucus of the Republican members of the House.

Having called Mr. Wheeler, of New York, to the chair, Mr. Blaine took the floor in self-defense, and entered into a colloquy with Mr. Butler, of Massachusetts, and among other things spoke as follows:

“ Mr. Speaker, in old times it was the ordinary habit of the Speaker of the House of Representatives to take part in debate. The custom has fallen into disuse. For one, I

am very glad that it has. For one, I approve of the conclusion that forbids it. The Speaker should, with consistent fidelity to his own party, be the impartial administrator of the rules of the House, and a constant participation in the discussions of members would take from him that appearance of impartiality which it is so important to maintain in the rulings of the chair. But at the same time I despise and denounce the insolence of the gentleman from Massachusetts when he attempts to say that the representative from the third district of the State of Maine has no right to frame a resolution; has no right to seek that under the rules that resolutions shall be adopted; has no right to ask the judgment of the House upon that resolution. Why, even the insolence of the gentleman himself never reached that sublime height before. * * * Now, Mr. Speaker, nobody regrets more sincerely than I do any occurrence which calls me to take the floor. On questions of propriety, I appeal to members on both sides of the House, and they will bear me witness, that the circulation of this letter in the morning prints; its distribution throughout the land by telegraph; the laying it upon the desks of members, was intended to be by the gentleman from Massachusetts, not openly and boldly, but covertly—I will not use a stronger phrase—an insult to the Speaker of this House. As such I resent it. I denounce it in all its essential statements, and in all its misstatements, and in all its mean inferences and meaner innuendoes. I denounce the letter as groundless, without justification; and the gentleman himself, I trust, will live to see the day when he will be ashamed of having written it.”

CREDIT MOBILIER INVESTIGATION.

The third session of the Forty-second Congress was called to order by the Speaker, James G. Blaine, on the second day of December, 1872. After the transaction of some previous business, relating to messages, the death of

Horace Greeley, and a committee on foreign affairs, Mr. Blaine called to the chair Mr. Cox, a Democrat from New York, and, having taken the floor, spoke as follows: "Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of the highest privilege, to one that concerns the integrity of members of this House and the honor of the House itself. It is quite generally known to the members of this House that during the recent Presidential campaign there was a widespread accusation of bribery of members; that members of this House were bribed to perform certain legislative acts for the benefit of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, by presents of stock in a corporation known as the 'Credit Mobilier.'" The charge included the Vice-President of the United States and the Vice-President elect; it included three Senators of the United States, two of them ex-Senators from Tennessee and Delaware, and one Senator from New Hampshire; it included the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and prominent members of the House. There were Dawes, Garfield, Kelly, Bingham, Scofield, Brooks, and Eliot. The accusations were that the several persons received bribes from the hands of the Representative from Massachusetts. "The charge of bribery of members is the gravest," said Mr. Blaine, "that can be made in a legislative body. It seems to me, sir, that this charge demands prompt, thorough, and impartial investigation, and I have taken the floor for the purpose of moving that investigation. Unwilling, of course, to appoint any committee of investigation to examine into a charge in which I was myself included, I have called you, sir, to the chair, an honored member of the House, honored here and honored in the country; and when on Saturday last I called upon you and advised you of this service, I placed upon you no other restriction in the appointment of a committee than that it should not contain a majority of my political friends. I therefore send to the Clerk's

desk, for adoption by the House, a preamble and accompanying resolution."

It was read by the Clerk as follows:

WHEREAS, Accusations have been made in the public press, founded on the alleged letters of OAKES AMES, a representative from Massachusetts, and upon the alleged affidavit of Henry C. McComb, a citizen of Wilmington, in the State of Delaware, to the effect that members of this House were bribed by OAKES AMES to perform certain legislative acts for the benefit of the Union Pacific Railway Company, by presents of stock in the Credit Mobilier of America, or by presents of a valuable character derived therefrom; therefore,

Resolved, That a special committee of five members be appointed by the Speaker *pro tempore*, whose duty it shall be to investigate and ascertain whether any member of this House was bribed by OAKES AMES in any matter touching his legislative duty.

Resolved further, That the committee have the right to employ a stenographer, and that they be empowered to send for persons and papers.

The resolution was agreed to.

Upon the motion of Speaker Blaine, a committee of investigation was appointed by S. S. Cox, of New York, who was a noted Democratic member of the House. After the close of the campaign, the Republican party might well have claimed, and should have insisted, had they been opposed to a thorough investigation, and full exposure of corruption, that the verdict of the people in the late canvass was sufficient answer to these charges. The party not merely granted all the investigation sought, but summoned to the committee a majority of its political foes to conduct the inquest. The committee consisted of Messrs. Poland, of Vermont; McCreary, of Iowa; Banks, of Massachusetts; Niblack, of Indiana, and Merrick, of Maryland. The report of the committee gave a reliable history of the whole affair, and a part of it read as follows:

"Among those who have been in the public press, charged with improper participation in the Credit Mobilier stock, is the present Speaker, Mr. Blaine, who moved the

resolution for this investigation. The committee have, therefore, taken evidence in regard to him. They find from it that Mr. Ames had a conversation with Mr. Blaine in regard to taking ten shares of the stock, and recommended it as a good investment. Upon consideration Mr. Blaine concluded not to take the stock, and never did take it, and never paid or received anything on account of it; and Mr. Blaine never had any interest, direct or indirect, in Credit Mobilier stock, or stock of the Union Pacific Railroad Company."

The 3d of March, 1873, was the day for adjournment of the Forty-second Congress, and in his closing speech Mr. Blaine regarded it as a source of honorable pride that he had so administered his trust as to secure the confidence and approbation of both sides of the House. He thought it would not be strange, if in the necessarily rapid discharge of the daily business, he should have erred in some of the decisions made on points, and often without precedent to guide him. It was always his good fortune to be sustained by the House, and in no single instance did he ever have a ruling reversed. He adverted to this gratifying fact in no vain spirit of exaltation, but as furnishing a powerful motive for undissembled gratitude. "And now, gentlemen," closed he, "with a hearty God bless you all, I discharge my only remaining duty in declaring that the House of Representatives for the Forty-second Congress is adjourned without day."

THIRD ELECTION—FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

Nine months from this time, the Hon. James G. Blaine by a vote of one hundred and eighty-nine to eighty, was again chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives. This was the third time the honor had been thrust upon him, and the compliment thus shown was duly appreciated and appropriately expressed in his remarks immediately following the election. "To be chosen Speaker of the

American House of Representatives, is always an honorable distinction; to be chosen a third time enhances the honor more than three-fold; to be chosen by the largest body that ever assembled in the capitol, imposes a burden of responsibility which only your indulgent kindness could embolden me to assume. The first occupant of this chair presided over a House of sixty-five members representing a population far below the present aggregate of the State of New York. At that time in the whole United States, there were not fifty thousand civilized inhabitants to be found one hundred miles distant from the flow of the Atlantic tide. To-day, gentlemen, a large body of you come from beyond that limit, and represent districts then peopled only by the Indian and adventurous frontiersman. The National Government is not yet as old as many of its citizens; but in this brief span of time, less than one lengthened life, it has, under God's providence, extended its power until a continent is the field of its empire and attests the majesty of its law. With the growth of new States and the resulting changes in the centers of population, new interests are developed, rival to the old, but by no means hostile; diverse but not antagonistic. Nay, rather are all these interests in harmony; and the true science of just government is to give to each its full and fair play, oppressing none by undue exaction, favoring none by undue privilege. It is this great lesson which our daily experience is teaching us, binding us together more closely, making our mutual dependence more manifest, and causing us to feel, whether we live in the North or in the South, in the East or in the West, that we have indeed but 'one country, one Constitution, one destiny.'"

RECEPTION OF THE HAWAIIAN KING.

The following December the King of the Hawaiian Islands was given a reception by the United States Senate

and House of Representatives. Upon that occasion, after the senators had taken their seats in the House, and the King had been escorted down the main aisle fronting the Speaker, Mr. Blaine addressed his Majesty as follows:

“YOUR MAJESTY: On behalf of the American Congress I welcome you to these halls. The Senators from our States and the Representatives of our people unite in cordial congratulations upon your auspicious journey, and in the expression of the gratification and pleasure afforded by your presence in the Capitol of the Nation as the Nation’s guest. Your Majesty’s appearance among us is the first instance in which a reigning sovereign has set foot upon the soil of the United States, and it is a significant circumstance that the visit comes to us from the West and not from the East. Probably no single event could more strikingly typify the century’s progress in your Majesty’s country and in our own than the scene here and now transpiring. The rapid growth of the Republic on its Western coast has greatly enlarged our intercourse with your insular kingdom, and has led us all to a knowledge of your wisdom and beneficence as a ruler, and your exalted virtues as a man. Our whole people cherish for your subjects the most friendly regard. They trust and believe that the relations of the two countries will always be as peaceful as the great sea that rolls between us—uniting, and not dividing!”

A response to this speech was made by Chief Justice Allen, of the Hawaiian Islands, in behalf of his King.

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS.

The Forty-third Congress expired on the third day of March, 1875, and Mr. Blaine in his valedictory address took occasion to say that he had “closed six years’ service as Speaker of the House of Representatives—a period surpassed in length by but two of my predecessors, and equaled by only two others. The rapid mutations of per-

sonal and political fortunes in this country have limited the great majority of those who have occupied this chair to shorter terms of office.

“To those,” continued the speaker, “from whom I differ in my party relations—the minority of this House—I tender my acknowledgments for the generous courtesy with which they have treated me. By one of those sudden and decisive changes which distinguish popular institutions, and which conspicuously mark a free people, that minority is transformed in the ensuing Congress to the governing power of the House. However it might possibly have been under other circumstances, that event renders these words my farewell to the chair. The speakership of the American House of Representatives is a post of honor, of dignity, of power, of responsibility. Its duties are at once complex and continuous; they are both onerous and delicate; they are performed in the broad light of day, under the eye of the whole people, subject at all times to the closest observation, and always attended with the sharpest criticism. I think no other official is held to such instant and such rigid accountability. Parliamentary rulings in their very nature are peremptory, almost absolute in authority, and instantaneous in effect. They cannot always be enforced in such a way as to win applause or secure popularity; but I am sure that no man of any party who is worthy to fill this chair will ever see a dividing line between duty and policy. Thanking you once more, and thanking you most cordially for the honorable testimonial you have placed on record to my credit, I perform my only remaining duty in declaring that the Forty-third Congress has reached its constitutional limit, and that the House of Representatives stands adjourned without day.”

RETIREMENT FROM THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR.

This retirement of Mr. Blaine from the chair of Speaker of the House of Representatives, was an event of no little

importance. He had filled that place for six years; and in the discharge of the duties of Speaker had displayed a fitness and an ability of the highest order. At the expiration of each Congress he was complimented by a vote of thanks in which the House most heartily concurred. Resolutions complimenting him were offered by Mr. Cox, of New York; Mr. Niblack, of Indiana; Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania; Mr. Voorhees, of Indiana, and Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Potter, of New York.

Speaker Blaine's knowledge of parliamentary law was complete and instinctive. He ruled with such fairness as to receive the united thanks of the majority and the minority. It has been said of him that no other man since Mr. Clay had presided with such knowledge of the rules of the House, or with so rapid and faithful discharge of business.

The position of Speaker is at all times an arduous one, but the duties of the Speaker of the House of Representatives had become extremely complicated during the incumbency of Mr. Blaine. A successful Speaker requires the incumbent of the chair to be a man of ability. To be successful, he must always command the personal respect and confidence, both of the majority and the minority. It makes no difference how strong may be the party by which he is elected. He must rely upon the confidence of the whole House, and this he can only retain by being frank and fair in all his movements. The power of the Speaker is very great, much greater than is generally supposed. Under the peculiarities of our parliamentary law, extraordinary powers are necessarily yielded to him. These powers he exercises not so much by virtue of the law as by the general acquiescence of the House. A competent Speaker, like Mr. Blaine, backed by the confidence and the respect of the whole House, can greatly expedite business, avoid unseemly complications, preserve the rights and equalities of all the members, and prevent the despotism of the

majority. There are always in every party having a large majority, a number of extreme men who favor the roughshod policy, and who deny that the minority have any rights which the majority are bound to respect. These men are of necessity at variance with the Speaker, who, as the presiding officer of the whole House, must hold the balance even, and without partiality.

The sessions of Congress during Mr. Blaine's speakership were marked by a succession of a two thirds majority by the Republican party. The struggle of the minority by factious opposition to defeat the will of the House, and the struggle of an extreme faction on the other side to crush out the minority, furnished repeated occasions requiring ability, energy, unwearied attention, and strict impartiality on the part of the Speaker. Mr. Blaine proved himself equal to all the requirements of his high office, and in laying down the gavel at the close of his six years' service, he did so with the universal respect of the whole country, and with the admiration of all those of all parties who served in Congress under his speakership.

CHAPTER VI.

REPUBLICAN LEADER ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE.

POLITICAL ACUMEN.

THE Democratic "tidal wave" of 1874 returned a large Democratic majority to the House, elected Mr. Kerr, of Indiana, Speaker; and Mr. Blaine returned to the floor December 6, 1875, where his parliamentary skill and self possession, together with his audacity of manner and versatility of talent, made him one of the most adroit and aggressive leaders ever enjoyed by a political party. He was at once recognized as the leader of the Republican minority, and his influence was felt on the first day's session of the Democratic House, December 6, 1875. An attempt was made by the Democratic majority to tear open once more the Louisiana question, which had been put to rest by the President of the United States, by both Houses of Congress, and by the people of Louisiana; but Mr. Blaine, through superior political acumen and parliamentary skill, carried the day against the advantage of numbers. His success was brilliant and complete, and his victory handsomely won.

A few days after this success, Mr. Blaine proposed an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the sectarian control or division of public school funds in any State. This proposition never came up as a political issue, but it is an indication of Mr. Blaine's watchfulness for the protection of all.

FAMOUS DISCUSSION ON AMNESTY.

In the first days of the Forty-fourth Congress the issue between the Democrats and Republicans on the amnesty

question was clearly defined by Mr. Blaine. A bill had been introduced by Mr. Randall and called up for consideration on the 10th of January, 1876. The bill granted general amnesty without exception, and made Jefferson Davis eligible to a seat in the Senate, which he had abandoned to place himself at the head of a rebellion. Mr. Randall moved the previous question, thereby intending to cut off all debates and amendments, and then force the House to a vote. The bill failing to receive the two thirds vote required by the constitution, was lost, whereupon Mr. Blaine moved to reconsider, with a view of moving an amendment. There was a general rule in Congress that no person should be relieved of his political disabilities unless upon application of that person; and no person making that application had ever been refused. There were a class of persons at the South, including Davis and Toombs, who spurned the amnesty, and ridiculed those who had sought it—they claiming practically to be no longer citizens under an usurping government. The bill of Randall dispensed with this application, and granted amnesty without condition. The Blaine amendment had for its special object the exclusion of Jefferson Davis. It proposed to make him the solitary exception, both for the general reason of his chieftainship as instigator and leader in the rebellion, and for his personal conduct in the cruelty practiced toward the prisoners at Andersonville.

Mr. Blaine addressed the House in one of the strongest speeches ever made in that body, showing that the Republicans, though possessing the two thirds majority in both Houses of Congress, had never refused amnesty to any person who had asked for it. He then examined the record of Jefferson Davis' direct responsibility for the inhuman barbarities with which the Union prisoners were treated at Andersonville, and other rebel prisons. Mr. Blaine produced a general order, issued in 1864, with the approval of Jefferson Davis, to the effect that in case any

portion of the Union army should advance within seven miles of Andersonville, the Confederate artillery at that place was to open fire with grape shot on the prison, containing thirty-five thousand helpless Union prisoners. Mr. Blaine stated that there were a great many instances and proofs to show that Jefferson Davis was in entire possession of the facts in relation to Andersonville. When an invasion of that portion of the country was under way, there was danger, or supposed danger, that it might come into the neighborhood of Andersonville. The following order—a regular military order—No. 13, dated Headquarters Confederate States Military Prison, Andersonville, July 27, 1864, was issued by Brigadier-General John H. Winder:

The officers on duty and in charge of the battery of Florida artillery at the time, will, upon receiving notice that the enemy have approached within seven miles of this post, *open fire upon the stockade with grape-shot* without reference to the situation beyond these lines of defense.

“Here,” said Mr. Blaine, “were those thirty-five thousand poor, helpless, naked, starving, sick and dying men. A Catholic priest states that he went to General Cobb to represent to him that, if he could not exchange them they should be taken to the Union lines in Florida and paroled and let go free; and yet, if the Union forces were to come within seven miles, that regular order of Mr. Davis’ was to open a battery of grape shot on those poor wretches, without the slightest possible regard to what was going on outside. Now, I do not arraign the Southern people for this; God forbid that I should charge any people with sympathizing with such an order. There were many evidences of great uneasiness among the Southern people about it, and one of the great crimes of Jefferson Davis was that he concealed it from the Southern people.”

This atrocious order, issued at Andersonville by authority and by direction from Richmond, had been forgotten by many persons, and was new to thousands who

had grown up since the war. It is an order without parallel in the conduct of civilized warfare, and that it was not carried into execution is due to the fact that the contingency on which it was based did not arise.

Ordinarily the American people were disposed to let Mr. Davis and the rebellion pass into oblivion, but this bill framed and pressed so ostentatiously to make Mr. Davis eligible to the Presidency and to the Senate, became practically a bill for that purpose, and Mr. Blaine's resistance of it, represented the public sentiment of the great body of the American people.

“The history of Andersonville,” said Mr. Blaine, “startled and shocked the world with a tale of horror, of woe and death before unheard and unknown to civilization. No pen can describe, no painter sketch, no imagination comprehend its fearful and unutterable iniquity. It would seem as if the concentrated madness of earth and hell had found its final lodgment in the breast of those who inaugurated the rebellion and controlled the policy of the confederate government, and that the prison at Andersonville had been selected for the most terrible human sacrifice which the world has ever seen. Into its narrow walls were crowded thirty-five thousand enlisted men, many of them the bravest and best, the most devoted and heroic of those grand armies which carried the flag of their country to final victory. For long and weary months here they suffered, maddened, were murdered, and died. Here they lingered, unsheltered from the burning rays of a tropical sun by day, and drenching and deadly dews by night, in every stage of mental and physical disease, hungered, emaciated, starving, maddened; festering with unhealed wounds; gnawed by the ravages of scurvy and gangrene; with swollen limb and distorted visage; covered with vermin which they had no power to extirpate; exposed to the flooding rains, which drove them drowning from the miserable holes in which, like swine, they burrowed; parched

with thirst and mad with hunger; racked with pain or prostrated with the weakness of dissolution; with naked limbs and matted hair; filthy with smoke and mud; soiled with the very excrement from which their weakness would not permit them to escape; eaten by the gnawing worms which their own wounds had engendered; with no bed but the earth; no covering save the cloud or the sky; these men, these heroes, born in the image of God, thus crouching and writhing in their terrible torture and calculating barbarity, stand forth in history as a monument of the surpassing horrors of Andersonville as it shall be seen and read in all future time, realizing in the studied torments of their prison-house the ideal of Dante's Inferno and Milton's Hell."

The debates of this memorable session are still fresh in the minds of the people. The excitements which grew out of them brought Mr. Blaine more prominently before the country than any other citizen of the time, and centered upon him a malignant hostility from his enemies and an admiration from his friends far more enthusiastic than are often inspired by public service.

GREAT SPEECH ON FINANCES.

On the 10th of February, Hon. James G. Blaine delivered a speech on the question of finance, and to him the attention was so great that it was called a personal ovation. The galleries were packed from an early hour, and the floor during the delivery of the speech was occupied by most of the persons of prominence in Washington. Secretary Bristow was an attentive listener. The speech was a concise and graphic epitome of the financial history of this country, and a severe arraignment of the Democratic party. It attracted the more attention from the fact that it was a formal declaration of the financial policy of one of the leading presidential candidates. The speech was expressed in good, clear, and strong English, was pointed

in its application to history, being firm in its adherence to the doctrine of good faith under all circumstances. It described the condition of the country, and explained the causes, pointed out the inevitable results of inevitable laws, exposed the consequences of the proposed annihilation of the national banks, and the proposed expansion of the currency, vindicated the national honor and pledges, insisted upon such national legislation as would by gradual means bring the legal-tender note to par. He took the ground that while the Democrats, as a party, were divided on this subject, there was no division among the Republicans, who had always been united in maintaining the national credit and favoring the resumption of specie payments. He graphically told the history of the legal-tender notes. The overwhelming necessity of a treasury without a dollar at its command to carry on the war, the issue of the first legal-tender notes, their subsequent increase, and decline in value, resulting in the solemn promise that the aggregate of these notes should never exceed four hundred millions of dollars, were clearly portrayed by the speaker.

The instructive point was made that in 1864 when the amount of legal-tender notes, by successive issues had been inflated, the whole four hundred millions then out would not purchase as much gold as could have been purchased by the original issue of one hundred and fifty millions of notes. The expansion of the notes, therefore, did not add to their aggregate value, and such would be the result then, if the United States should become under the discretion of the majority in Congress the exclusive currency-maker. Such a result was inevitable when the volume of an irredeemable currency was inflated.

The Democratic hostilities to the issue of the legal-tender notes—their assumed fidelity to the Constitution which restrained them in time of war from voting for an illegal currency, even to enable the government to carry on the war for the national existence, and their subsequent

demand in time of peace for the issue of that same currency, to an amount equal to the purchase of sixteen hundred millions of bonds, were admirably contrasted by Mr. Blaine.

The ability of the United States to maintain specie payments was strongly vindicated, and the vindication was strengthened by references to the example of the Pacific States, and of Canada, where a population less than that of New York, overwhelmed in debt, with fewer productions, and frozen up one half the year, enjoyed the luxury of specie payments with American coin, and were prospering accordingly.

The great error of the past was the discredit given to the legal-tender notes, by the withdrawal of the privilege of funding them. Up to that time they had the character of being redeemed, and kept pace with the other obligations of the government, but that form of redemption being removed, the damaging impression had been created that these notes were never to be redeemed. Mr. Blaine stated that, Congress having taken away the provision for redemption, the public had naturally come to regard the legal-tender as perpetually irredeemable, and one of the first steps toward resumption was to change that impression by reviving the funding privilege in a bond of lower rate, with extended time, and a limitation on the amount that would be funded in any given period.

In addition, Mr. Blaine said: "As an amelioration to the debtor class the suggestion has been made that the bonds into which the legal tenders should be thus converted might themselves be made a legal tender for all debts contracted prior to the passage of the act."

ON "RIDERS" AND BRIBERY.

In March, 1876, "riders" on appropriation bills were under discussion in the House. Mr. Blaine objected to the use of "riders" in connection with such a bill, and

thought that every conceivable measure of a certain kind might be piled upon an appropriation bill, and under the thumb-screw—under the pressure that attends legislation on appropriation bills—might be forced through Congress, which in its calmer moments could not be done.

In the same month the House of Representatives considered a bill making it a misdemeanor for any person in the employ of the United States to demand or contribute election funds. On this subject Mr. Blaine stated that he had run seven times for Congress, and had never contributed so much as a postage stamp for any improper purpose in securing his election; he stated that there was only one thing worse than the bribing of voters, and that was the fraudulent count of the votes after they were deposited in the ballot-box. “Bad as bribing the voter is, and it is an unendurable evil almost, it is not so bad as bold, naked fraud in the count. There you have literally taken away the foundations of free government. A fraud in the count is the destruction of republican government. One or two men may do more there than a thousand bribed men can do outside. * * * This country demands elections shall be pure. There is not an honest man in either party who does not desire it. Without that, all government is a failure; and, sir, there is a widespread conviction to-day that in a good many of the States of this Union it is impossible to get a fair election. That the persons entitled to vote under the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution—the colored voters—get a fair show and equal chance to deposit their ballots is not believed by ten honest men north of Mason and Dixon’s line, in my judgment. * * * We invite you to go with us in providing, after we shall have destroyed bribery outside of the polling-booth, that you shall not have the embodiment of rascality behind it to vitiate and destroy the purity of elections within.”

EYES OF THE NATION TOWARD HIM.

While Mr. Blaine was thus sustaining himself in the House so admirably, the eyes of the nation were turned toward him, and his popularity was manifest in all parts of the Union at Republican meetings and conferences.

His philippic arraignment of Davis for his horrible cruelties to the Union prisoners at Andersonville, awakened sympathetic echoes in the hearts of multitudes of men, and before the effect of this emotion had subsided he delivered his powerful speech, appealing to the judgment of intelligent men in favor of a return to honest money. These two bold presentations of his feelings and his views on amnesty and currency, revealed Mr. Blaine to the people in a light that seemed to have thoroughly captivated the popular affections and understanding. The power, the courage, and the parliamentary skill with which he had attacked the Democrats in the amnesty debate gained for him the distinguished honor of being the heaviest and most scientific hitter in the House. The whole country applauded and encored the performance. Even his bitterest political opponents in the south, as well as north, were not able to repress their admiration for the man's ability. When he took hold of the currency question and handled it in such a masterly manner as to arrest the attention of the entire nation, the current began to set in strongly in his favor for the Presidency. Blaine had been a growing man since the time he first set foot in Congress. Each year he developed increasing strength, as he studied the lessons of statesmanship and experience.

REASONS FOR HIS CANDIDACY.

His six years' training in the Speaker's chair tamed down his natural impetuosity, seasoned his judgment, and gave him a clear insight into the character of men and the secret springs of human action. It was fortunate for

him that his party in the House was in the minority, as it placed him on the floor as a leader of the opposition to the Democracy, and afforded him an admirable opportunity to lead his forces in attack and aid them in defense; in short, to exhibit to the very best advantage the sterling qualities of the man. Among the complimentary reasons given for the candidacy of Mr. Blaine in 1876, was the statement that Mr. Blaine was a national man. He was born and brought up in Pennsylvania, lived for a time in Kentucky, and then became a resident of New England. He was intimate with Western men, and familiar with Western character and interests, as well as with those in the East. While Speaker of the House, he was so broad and liberal in his views, as to make him equally as popular among Western members as among the members of his own section of the country, and this fact greatly contributed to secure for him so large a backing, as was shown in the State conventions. He had no sympathy with the "bloody shirt" in politics, and it was under his speakership, and by a committee he appointed, that the Louisiana and Arkansas complications were straightened out. He was mainly instrumental in defeating the obnoxious Force Bill, which Mr. Conklin had done so much to secure, and which, had it become a law, would have rendered the defeat of the Republican party certain at the North.

Mr. Blaine was declared to be warm-blooded, to have great elements of popularity, and to be in every way closer to the people than other candidates who had been named. It was said of him, that he was a man of large and noble views, a great favorite with multitudes of people, and widely known and admired; a conspicuous man in the history of the preceding fifteen years; an admirable executive officer, and a genial and experienced statesman, who would adorn the office of President to the satisfaction of the American people.

Additional reasons were, that from first to last he had

been a strenuous supporter of a policy of leniency which some political conventions flatly denounced. He supported all the measures of reconstruction, and aided largely by his efforts each one of the States having been in rebellion to be restored to self-government, brought back within the Union and the people rehabilitated in political power. He had framed every amnesty bill, and the latest and grandest effort of his political career was a ten days' struggle to remove every political disfranchisement resulting from the rebellion, except in the solitary instance where the subject had forfeited human respect by his cruelties to the prisoners of war. He won a warm place in the hearts of the right thinking people by his opposition to forcé bills and civil government administered by men with bayonets. He left the "bloody shirt" to Mr. Butler and the carpet-baggers, and addressed himself to the work of peace and reconciliation—the rebuilding of a harmony between the races, and the establishment of government sustained by popular sentiment.

AN ALARMING STROKE.

While portions of the Republican party were marshalling their forces for a contest in the national convention at Cincinnati, the whole country, on the eleventh of June, was surprised and alarmed at the intelligence that the Hon. James G. Blaine had been stricken with unconsciousness while attending church in Washington. He rose at the usual hour, and, after breakfast, played with his children for a time and was in excellent humor. He remarked about his pleasant night's sleep, and spoke cheerfully of his prospects at Cincinnati. Shortly before eleven o'clock his wife asked him if he was going to church. He answered that he would go along in a moment if she would wait. He joined her presently, and the family, consisting of Miss Dodge and two young daughters of Mr. Blaine, stepped out to the sidewalk. Mrs. Blaine reminded her husband

that it was very warm, and they would better ride. Mr. Blaine said he would prefer to walk. Reference during the walk was made to the extreme heat, but Mr. Blaine made little complaint of it. When he reached the steps of the church, he put his handkerchief to his eyes in a strange manner, and his wife asked him what was the matter; if he had anything in his eyes. He said "Oh, no, I think I am sun-struck. Oh, my head! Oh, my head!" and sank down insensible in his wife's arms at the threshold of the church. His little daughter, Hattie, about five years old, ran into the church and told General Ballerch, who was at the door, that her father had fainted. On the steps of the church there was a sad scene. His wife held his head in her lap and the rest of the family bent over her, none knowing whether death had not already overtaken the prostrate form.

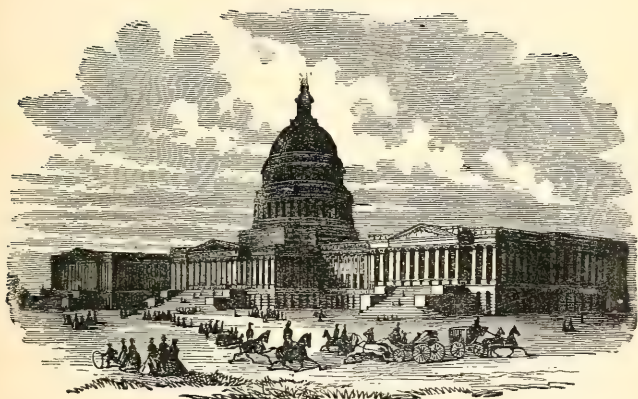
Assistance was soon at hand. A passing omnibus was reined up against the walk and the deathlike form was carefully lifted within. Arriving at the house, Mr. Blaine was borne inside, and by a strong effort said: "Lay me on the floor." He was at once stretched on the parlor floor, his shoes removed, and a cushion placed under his head. Physicians soon arrived, and careful hands smoothed his pillow all day. It would be difficult to described the excitement that spread through the city. Crowds gathered at the hotels and shady places, and, before half an hour, the walk in front of Mr. Blaine's residence was filled with anxious visitors. A panic seemed to move the people and exaggerated statements floated about from tongue to tongue. The report first gained circulation that Mr. Blaine had been stricken with paralysis, but it was soon learned that his limbs were flexible and sensitive, and his features natural. Then it was reported that he had an attack of apoplexy, but a closer examination showed the symptoms were not at all like it. Surgeon Palmer of the army, was probably the first to discover the nature of the

attack. He unhesitatingly pronounced it sunstroke. For the first two hours Mr. Blaine seemed insensible. His eyes were wide open and staring, and his features without expression. But gradually his eyes wore a more intelligent look, his features improved, and although he said nothing, he seemed to be conscious of what was occurring. His eyes occasionally turned, and, sometimes, the lids dropped over. General Sherman, who bent over the bed shortly after four o'clock, said, in quite a loud voice: "Blaine, do you know me?" The lips seemed to move a little, but no response came. Sometime afterward Mrs. Blaine said, "James, do you not know me?" He spoke her name distinctly, and subsequently asked, "What is it?" and then again, "Where am I?"

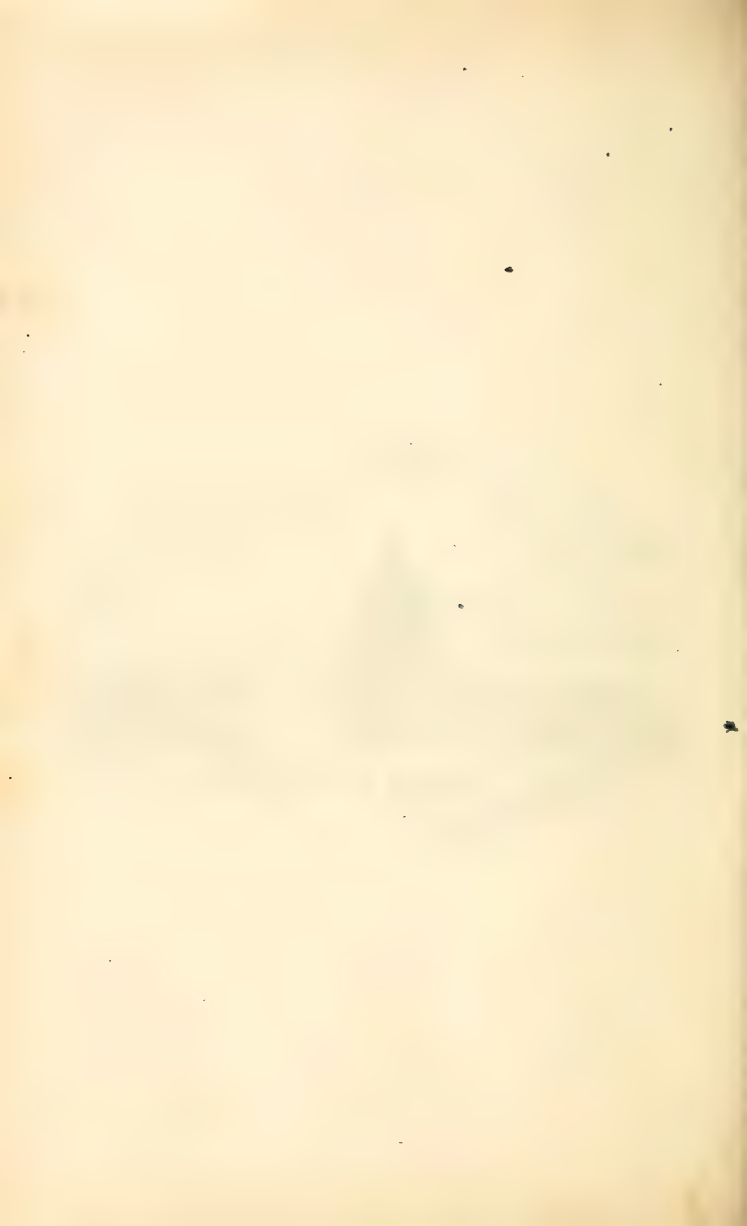
An immense crowd was before the house all day and up to 12 o'clock at night. Mrs. Blaine showed extraordinary nerve, and never lost hope. While relatives and friends were shedding tears and giving way to their sorrows, she, with strong self-control, was attending to the more necessary task of nursing her stricken husband.

Had not Mr. Blaine been a man of perfect habits, it is probable that the attack would have killed him; but no man in public life has taken better care of himself than Mr. Blaine. He neither uses liquor nor tobacco in any shape. He eats simple food and plenty of it, and sleeps regularly and long. While he was in this condition in Washington, his supporters were spreading his banner to the breeze in Cincinnati on the eve of the convention; yet the news did not cause an abatement of efforts made in his behalf, though intelligence of his illness created the most intense excitement among the delegates.

Many causes combined to predispose Mr. Blaine to the attack. For months he had been under a terrible strain, and on two or three occasions had been forced to put forth every energy in defense of his character and reputation, assailed by a band of conspirators, who pursued him with



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.



all the arts of relentless malignity. Recently prostrate from the effects of a severe attack of malarial fever, he was forced to appear in the House and committee-room before he had fully recovered, there to defy and hurl back the statements of scandal concocted by his enemies. Under these circumstances, worn out by incessant toil, oppressed by a multitude of cares, perplexed by the anxiety of the campaign and exhausted by the long continued nervous strain, his powerful constitution yielded to the excessive heat and he fell a victim to relentless persecution; but in this terrible emergency, his life was saved by the strength of his constitution and his well preserved mind and body. The whole nation sympathized with him in his affliction, and seemed to cordially unite in a fervent hope for his rapid recovery, and the full restoration of all his giant faculties of mind and body. The affliction proved to be of the nature of a sunstroke, and Mr. Blaine's friends had the pleasure of witnessing his gradual recovery and his presentation to the convention at Cincinnati as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

CHAPTER VII.

BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION,
1876.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION.

THE sixth national convention of the Republican party met at Cincinnati, June 14, 1876. The attendance was greater than at any previous gathering of the party, and embraced the most noted men in its ranks. To those who had not attended the convention held in Philadelphia, four years previous to that time, the number of colored delegates present caused some surprise. Among them were congressmen, or ex-congressmen, from South Carolina, Alabama, and other Southern States. The convention was called to order by ex-Governor Morgan, chairman of the Republican national committee, who arose and addressed the convention in an interesting opening speech. At the close of his remarks, he nominated Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, for temporary presiding officer of the convention. Mr. Pomeroy's address, which immediately followed his introduction, was received with great applause. During the hours of the first session, speeches were made by George William Curtis, General Logan, General Hawley, Governor Noyes, Henry Garnett, and Frederick Douglass. The Hon. Edward MacPherson, of Pennsylvania, was made permanent chairman of the convention.

After the adoption of the platform, Mr. Kellogg presented the name of Hon. Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States; Colonel Thompson nominated Oliver P. Morton; General Harlan, of Kentucky, presented the name of Benjamin

H. Bristow; Stuart L. Woodford presented the name of Hon. Roscoe Conkling; Governor E. W. Noyes nominated General Rutherford B. Hayes; Linn Bartholomew put in nomination General John F. Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, and Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll nominated the Hon. James G. Blaine. This nomination by Mr. Ingersoll was one of the greatest events of the convention; the speaker carried with him, for the moment, friend and foe alike by the power of his fervid eloquence. William M. Evarts once greatly distinguished himself on the presentation of the name of William H. Seward to the convention of 1860. Gentlemen who heard the nominating speech of Colonel Ingersoll, and who had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Evarts sixteen years before, declared that Mr. Ingersoll's effort far excelled that of Mr. Evarts; in a word, that the speech of Mr. Ingersoll had no parallel in the history of convention oratory.

When Mr. Ingersoll walked up the aisle at the call of Maine, the convention fairly turned itself into a vocal tornado. Previous to his appearance, the cheers had been largely in the galleries and outside the space assigned to delegates, but now two thirds of the floor of the convention seemed to give a great heave upwards, and such a tossing of hats and handkerchiefs, and such a scene of wild enthusiasm had rarely been witnessed, on any other occasion. The seven hundred distinguished guests behind the President's chair, sprang to their feet with one impulse; the galleries were alive with waving hats and swaying forms; as wave on wave rose and fell, a very tempest of cheers seemed to shake the building. The shouts died away only to be resumed again and again, "until it seemed as if they would never cease," but at last quiet was restored and Mr. Ingersoll began.

His speech cannot be described. It was the chief topic of conversation the night following its delivery, and the Illinois delegation were as proud of Colonel Ingersoll's

oratory as the Massachusetts Whigs were of "Webster's Reply to Hayne." A perfect deluge of applause rained upon him; even those sitting opposed to Mr. Blaine were carried away, for the moment forgot themselves and joined heartily in the cheers that greeted the great western tribute to a great man. Mr. Ingersoll's speech was delivered in his inimitable manner. Carl Schurz came to him after he had ceased speaking, and taking his hand, said, "Mr. Ingersoll, let me congratulate you upon that speech; it was the most beautiful speech I ever heard. I can only regret that it was not made on the other side." "Senator," replied Ingersoll, "I could not have made that speech for another man. If what I said was effective, it was because I meant it. Every word I said of James G. Blaine was true, and I felt it." "There is no difficulty," rejoined Schurz "in seeing that you are a Blaine man."

SPEECH OF COLONEL INGERSOLL, NOMINATING MR.
BLAINE.

"Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow; so am I. But if any man nominated by this convention cannot carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this convention cannot carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by 75,000 majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory.

"The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intelligence, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman. They demand a reformer, after, as well as before, the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the

wants of the people, with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties and prerogatives of each and every department of this government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States; one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of his people; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made not by law but by labor; one who knows enough to know that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money, and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

“The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together; that when they come, they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire, greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil. This money has to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions in a political convention.

“The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this government should protect every citizen at home and abroad; who knows that any government that will not defend its defenders, and protect its protectors, is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of church and state. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate

of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has, in full, heaped and rounded measure, all these splendid qualifications, is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

“Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain beneath her flag. Such a man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican host, led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat.

“This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the past; with the sacred legends of liberty; a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; for the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; for the man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat.

“Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor. For the Republican party to desert this gallant leader now, is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle.

“James G. Blaine is now, and has been for years, the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

“Gentlemen of the convention, in the name of the great Republic—the only republic that ever existed upon this earth—in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the field of battle, and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers, Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine.”

SPEECH OF HON. M. TURNER, SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF MR. BLAINE.

“When I left my home in Georgia, and went westward, I determined in passing through several States, to ascertain the will of the people. I knew it would be almost impossible to give Georgia’s electoral vote to any Republican President, notwithstanding the fact that the dead have been raised. Everywhere I went, everywhere I mingled with the people, the name of Blaine seems to have been talismanic, and it extorted a cheer, and the people seemed to be alive at the very announcement of it. I wish to-day to second the nomination of the Hon. James G. Blaine. In doing this, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the convention, I want it understood that some of the names particularly that have been mentioned, I honor and revere with a reverence that my tongue could not express. The name of Morton, the champion of governors; Pinchback, the defender of the outraged people of Louisiana. I would borrow Dore’s pencil and dip it in the sunlight of heaven and write on the brow of Oliver P. Morton the title of honor. Mr. President, I believe we have before us now a name that arouses the people of this great country in a manner that the names of others cannot. I have nothing to say against Mr. Bristow. I listened to the eloquence of the great poet of New York as he defended the

name of Bristow. I paid deep deference to that generous son of Massachusetts, our Minister to England, but in the person of the Hon. James G. Blaine we have a Republican about whom there is no question. He has commanded the party for twenty-five years. He has been its front, and to-day he stands the champion of Republican principles, I believe, in the United States of America. He gave his own State, so says an aged and learned doctor of divinity of Maine, to that party, and forever, I expect, buried Democracy in that sacred soil. It will never lift its head there again, I trust. He originated the spirit of the fourteenth amendment. He stood by the immortal Lincoln during the trial through which the country was passing for freedom, and justice and equity and all mankind, and to chase out of the nation a set of insurgents who lifted their impious hands against that flag that still floats in heaven, thank God!

“There is one thing I like about Mr. Blaine, he is the representative of young America; no question about that. He is no dead fossil. He is not tied on to any old constitutional barriers that shut out a class and parcel of God’s humanity, and fetter and bind him to a set of principles that are antiquated. I have a dozen points I want to make, but I will only make one now, and it is this: but for Mr. Blaine, to-day you would have had no Republican party. I will show it. When the Democrats carried this country at the last election, the Republican party all over this land was thunderstruck, paralyzed, dead and bleeding, bleeding to death; but it was Blaine standing in the halls of Congress that shook life into the party and defied the Democracy of this nation. He breathed again the spirit of activity and hope into this prostrate party. Who can deny it?”

SPEECH OF WILLIAM B. FRY.

“The impatience of the convention is a warning to me which I take heed of as I start, and I would not trespass

one word upon your patience or time did I not feel bound as a citizen of Maine, as a Republican of Maine, to stand here before this great convention and declare her confidence in her favorite, her idol son, James G. Blaine. She is a daughter of the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts. But, sir, I say here, and I say now, that whoever is nominated in this convention as a candidate of the Republican party shall carry the State of Maine by twenty thousand majority. And why is it a contest of life? It is a contest between right and wrong, between liberty and slavery, between barbarism and civilization, and in God's name is this Republic to go down now at the commencement of the second century forever and ever? Are we to take this beloved Republic, baptized again and again in the blood of our sons, sanctified and purified by the prayers and tears of our mothers and our wives, and to-day pass it over into the hands of men who, bloody-handed within a score of years, endeavored to destroy its life forever? My friends, that is the question which is to be settled here and now; and when we have nominated our candidate, we know he will sweep all the loyal Union men of the whole country as a tornado sweeps the branches of the great West. For twenty-five years have we of Maine known James G. Blaine as we knew our own household. He is honest, he is pure, he is spotless, he is sagacious, he is wise, he is great. He will be a power to salvation as a candidate of the Republican party."

BALLOTING.

On the third and last day of the convention the balloting for candidates took place. The vote for Blaine rose and fell and then rose again; that for Morton and Conkling slowly declined, while Bristow kept for a while the place first taken. At last his supporters also began to scatter, and slowly dropped in the Blaine or Hayes columns. Michigan made the first important break on the fifth ballot, joined Ohio and cast her twenty-two votes

for R. B. Hayes. The sixth ballot saw but little change, excepting between Hayes and Blaine, who gained slowly, while Bristow dropped behind. When the ballot was concluded there was great confusion, and it was evident that changes would be made in the next vote. At the call of Indiana, the chairman of the delegation mounted the platform, withdrew Senator Morton's name and cast twenty-five votes for Hayes. This announcement was heard with loud cheers, and from that time on until the close the wildest enthusiasm prevailed; finally, on the seventh ballot, the vote was 384 for Hayes, 351 for Blaine, and 21 for Bristow. The long and exciting convention came to a close, and Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, composed the presidential ticket for the centennial year.

It was a sad disappointment to the Republicans throughout the country that Mr. Blaine was not nominated. It was as a personal grief to thousands in Pennsylvania and in Maine, as the news of the defeat came to them. Mr. Blaine was decidedly the most popular man in the convention, and lacked but little of receiving the nomination, after combinations had been formed against him.

BALLOTS ON LAST DAY OF THE CONVENTION.

CANDIDATES.	First Ballot.	Second Ballot.	Third Ballot.	Fourth Ballot.	Fifth Ballot.	Sixth Ballot.	Seventh Ballot.
Blaine.....	298	296	293	292	286	308	351
Bristow.....	114	113	121	126	114	111	21
Conkling.....	93	99	90	84	82	81	...
Morton.....	111	124	113	108	95	85	...
Hartranft.....	63	58	68	71	69	50	...
Hayes.....	64	61	67	68	104	113	384
Jewell.....	11	11	...	...	...	...	...
Wheeler.....	3	3	2	2	2	2	...
Washburne.....	1	1	1	3	3	4	...

THE TRUE SPIRIT.

Mr. Blaine's true spirit and his loyalty to Republican principles could not have been made more apparent than by his conduct immediately following the convention at Cincinnati. He at once gave in his adherence to Mr. Hayes, and during the campaign which followed, entered the canvass as a political orator. In the various States his voice was heard in support of the Republican party, and all the powerful influence of the man was thrown into the canvass. He was seen and heard by tens of thousands, and his oratory during the campaign endeared him to the people more closely than before.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

During the summer of 1876, the constitutional amendment proposed by Mr. Blaine received considerable attention. The preceding December he had introduced in the House of Representatives an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting the use of any school fund or other public money by any state or municipal government for the endowment of any school or educational or other institution under the control of any religious sect or denomination, or where any religious doctrine should be taught. The proposed amendment was reported unanimously from the judiciary committee, and passed the House of Representatives with but few dissenting votes. When the amendment reached the senate, the lawyers of that body pronounced it altogether too loose, and proceeded to modify it, and succeeded in making it more of a statute than a constitutional provision. They further included in it the proviso that it was not to be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any schools, which proviso was susceptible of meaning that such reading of the Bible should not be excluded. It also provided that where certain schools were already endowed, such endow-

ments were not to be impaired. The result was that an opposition was excited, and the amendment failed to receive the required vote. One House did not put enough in the amendment, and the other put too much, and between the two the amendment failed to pass.

This amendment was designed to prevent any religious denomination obtaining such power as to disrupt the American free public school system. This danger exists at all times, and one strong religious body is as apt to make the attempt as another. This danger can be averted for all time only in one way, and that is by the adoption of a constitutional amendment similar to that proposed by Mr. Blaine. Such an amendment should receive support, not only from all liberal-minded citizens of all parties, but from the various religious denominations themselves. Protection would be insured for all by means of such a provision, and all sects would be on an equal footing, and the rights of the weakest, as well as of the strongest, would be fully protected under the law. The provision would protect the interests and prosperity of this government, which depend upon the absolute and permanent separation of church and state, of politics and religion.

CHAPTER VIII.

MR. BLAINE A UNITED STATES SENATOR.

SUCCESSOR TO SENATOR MORRILL.

ON the 3d of July, 1876, Governor Conner, of Maine, appointed Mr. Blaine United States Senator, to succeed the Hon. Lot M. Morrill, who had just resigned to accept the post of Secretary of the Treasury, succeeding Mr Bristow, who had just retired from that trust. He was subsequently chosen by the Legislature of Maine to fill out the unexpired term and the one succeeding it. When this honor had been conferred upon Mr. Blaine, he wrote a farewell address to his congressional district, in which he said: "Beginning with 1862, you have, by continuous elections, sent me as your representative to the Congress of the United States. For such marked confidence I have endeavored to return the most zealous and devoted service in my power, and it is certainly not without a feeling of pain that I now surrender a trust by which I have always felt so signally honored. It has been my boast in public and private, that no man on the floor of Congress ever represented a constituency more distinguished for intelligence, for patriotism, for public and personal virtue. The cordial support you have so uniformly given me through these fourteen eventful years is the chief honor of my life. In closing the intimate relations I have so long held with the people of this district, it is a great satisfaction to me to know that, with returning health, I shall enter upon a field of duty in which I can still serve them in common with the larger constituency of which they form a part."

Mr. Blaine entered the Senate when the country was

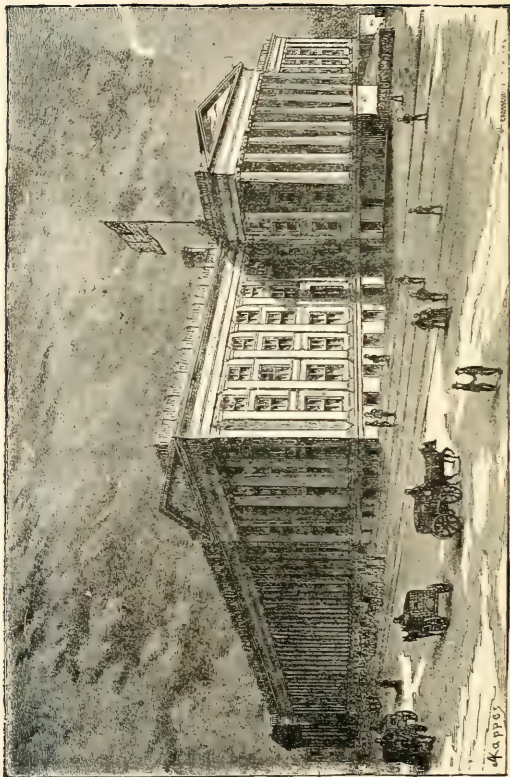
worked up to fever heat over the doubtful presidential election. His great prominence in national affairs at once made him a prominent figure in his new capacity, and he often broke over the traditions of the body which require that the new members be silent and allow their seniors to monopolize the debates. The plan proposed for settling the disputed presidential election provided for an electoral commission to consist of five senators, five representatives, and five supreme court judges. Both Houses warmly discussed the bill and passed it in January, 1877. The Republican candidates were declared elected. Mr. Blaine opposed the electoral commission and in this opposition was supported by Senator Morton and other distinguished members of that body.

Promptly after his inauguration President Hayes recognized the Democratic State governments in South Carolina and Louisiana, and withdrew such federal troops as had been detained there during the previous administration. This provision, known as Hayes' southern policy, was opposed by Mr. Blaine, who took a decided stand against it, not believing that the Republican party should abandon the protection of the colored people in the south.

THE SILVER DOLLAR.

In February, 1878, the Senate was considering the bill authorizing the free coinage of the standard silver dollar and restoring its legal-tender character. Mr. Blaine offered a substitute for the bill which provided, First: That the dollar shall contain four hundred and twenty-five grains of standard silver, shall have unlimited coinage, and be an unlimited legal tender. Second: That all profits of coinage shall go to the government, and not to the operator in silver bullion. Third: That silver dollars or silver bullion, assayed and mint-stamped, may be deposited with the Assistant Treasurer of New York, for which coin-certificates may be issued, the same in denomination as United





UNITED STATES TREASURY BUILDING.

States notes, not below ten dollars, and that these shall be redeemable on demand in coin or bullion, thus furnishing a paper circulation based on an actual deposit of precious metal, giving us notes as valuable as those of the Bank of England, and doing away at once with the dreaded inconvenience of silver on account of bulk and weight.

Mr. Blaine addressed the Senate in a very effective speech. He took the ground that "The effect of paying the labor of this country in silver coin of full value, as compared with the irredeemable paper, or as compared even with silver of inferior value, will make itself felt in a single generation to the extent of tens of millions, perhaps hundreds of millions, in the aggregate savings which represent consolidated capital. It is the instinct of man, from the savage to the scholar—developed in childhood and remaining with age—to value the metals which in all tongues are called precious. Excessive paper money leads to extravagance, to waste, and to want, as we painfully witness on all sides to-day. And in the midst of the proof of its demoralizing and destructive effect, we hear it proclaimed in the halls of Congress that 'the people demand cheap money.' I deny it. I declare such a phrase to be a total misapprehension—a total misinterpretation of the popular wish. The people do not demand cheap money. They demand an abundance of good money, which is an entirely different thing. They do not want a single gold standard, that will exclude silver and benefit those already rich. They do not want an inferior silver standard, that will drive out gold and not help those already poor. They want both metals, in full value, in equal honor, in whatever abundance the bountiful earth will yield them to the searching eye of science and to the hard hand of labor.

"The two metals have existed, side by side, in harmonious, honorable companionship as money, ever since intelligent trade was known among men. It is well nigh forty centuries since 'Abraham weighed to Ephron four

hundred shekels of silver—current money with the merchant.’ Since that time nations have risen and fallen, races have disappeared, dialects and languages have been forgotten, arts have been lost, treasures have perished, continents have been discovered, islands have been sunk in the sea, and through all these ages and through all these changes silver and gold have reigned supreme, as the representatives of value, as the media of exchange. The dethronement of each has been attempted in turn, and sometimes the dethronement of both; but always in vain! And we are here to-day, deliberating anew over the problem which comes down to us from Abraham’s time—*the weight of the silver* that shall be ‘current money with the merchant.’”

SPEECH ON CURRENCY AT BIDDEFORD.

Mr. Blaine’s views on currency are well known to the people of the country, not only from his speeches in Congress, but from those in other sections of the country. In August, 1878, he delivered a speech on financial questions at Biddeford, Maine. The currency question was by common consent the great question of the hour. The speaker regretted that condition of things, because if there was one thing the people could not afford it was a political currency question. He wanted it settled, and to have it settled right. He then reviewed the history of currency from 1861 to the time then present.

VIOLATION OF RIGHTS AT ELECTIONS.

Mr. Blaine had the national ear in the Senate, December 11, speaking on the resolution purposing an inquiry in all cases into the rights of citizens wherein any may have been abridged or violated in recent elections. The resolutions singled out no State or collection of States. It included Massachusetts along with South Carolina, and New York, as well as Louisiana. Mr. Blaine’s ideas were,

as presented in his address, that the South claimed a representation in Congress in proportion to the total population including ex-slaves as well as whites. But the practical disfranchisement of the blacks permitted the white voters in the South to elect nearly twice as many representatives as they would be entitled to if the blacks were excluded in the apportionment as well as in voting. The three States of South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana had seventeen representatives apportioned on the basis of 1,035,000 white votes and 1,224,000 colored. Nine of the representatives given these three States were apportioned by choice of the colored population who were not permitted to elect one of them. The result was that 1,035,000 white voters had as many representatives in Congress and as large a voice in the affairs of the nation as the 2,247,000 white voters of Iowa and Wisconsin, who had seventeen representatives. In other words, Mr. Blaine put it thus: 60,000 white people in those southern States had precisely the same political power as 132,000 white people had in Iowa and Wisconsin. This state of things gave the South more advantage over the North than was given in the days of slavery. Then the whites elected representatives to Congress for three-fifths of their colored population in addition to their own apportionment. Now the Southern apportionment included the entire colored population, which as a matter of fact had no more voice in choosing representatives than it had while in a condition of slavery. The argument was based of course upon the assumption that the colored voters were practically disfranchised, which was the subject of inquiry.

The success of Mr. Blaine in supporting his position was regarded a brilliant stroke, and won for him applause throughout the Nation. One rule prevailed all over the South: Wherever the colored people were in the minority, they were permitted to vote as they pleased; wherever they were in the majority, they were not permitted to

vote as they pleased. A variety of methods had been adopted to nullify the colored majority wherever it existed. In some cases the ballot had been taken from them by imposing an excessive poll-tax, and other conditions with which the majority could not comply. In other cases they were disfranchised, their candidates driven off, some of their number killed, and others threatened and terrified. In still other cases, the tissue and the stuffing of the ballot-boxes had accomplished the business. The net result was the same, namely, that the colored people were counted to give the South thirty-five more congressmen than it otherwise would be entitled to, but they were not permitted to choose any of these congressmen. The North had a selfish interest, as well as a patriotic concern in this matter. By the disfranchisement of the colored voters, the confederates of the South controlled one hundred and six Representatives and thirty-five Senators. They required but a small number of accomplices at the North to be able to disrupt the legislation and the policy of the country. The great financial, commercial and agricultural interests of the New England, Eastern, Middle and Western States might thus be made subject to the absolute despotism of the minority within that section of the country by the operation of a fraud. Such a result could not be patiently submitted to by the people north of Mason and Dixon's line.

In replying to Mr. Blaine, Mr. Thurman intimated that a solid South was the pretext for a solid North, but it was thought to be more accurate to say that a solid North would be the natural result of a solid South. The South, by a system of frauds and the prostitution of local legislature and judiciary, had succeeded in avoiding the constitutional amendments, for incurring the penalty of a loss in representation, and if there should be no other peaceful and lawful way of either preventing or punishing this avoidance, then the remedy was in a solid North, and it

was asserted that the Democratic leaders should not precipitate the issue. "But," continued Mr. Blaine, "whenever a feeble protest is made against such injustice, as I have described in the South, the response we get comes to us in the form of a taunt, 'What are you going to do about it?' and 'How do you propose to help yourselves?' This is the stereotyped answer of defiance which entrenched Wrong always gives to inquiring Justice; and those who imagine it to be conclusive do not know the temper of the American people. For, let me assure you, that against the complicated outrage upon the right of representation, lately triumphant in the South, there will be arrayed many phases of public opinion in the North not often hitherto in harmony. Men who have cared little, and affected to care less, for the rights or the wrongs of the Negro, suddenly find that vast monetary and commercial interests, great questions of revenue, adjustments of tariff, vast investments in manufactures, in railways, and in mines, are under the control of a Democratic Congress, whose majority was obtained by depriving the Negro of his rights under a common Constitution and common laws. Men who have expressed disgust with the 'waving of bloody shirts,' and have been offended with talk about Negro equality, are beginning to perceive that the pending question of to-day relates more pressingly to the equality of white men under this Government, and that however careless they may be about the rights or the wrongs of the Negro, they are very jealous and tenacious about the rights of their own race, and the dignity of their own firesides and their own kindred.

"I know something of public opinion in the North. I know a great deal about the views, wishes and purposes of the Republican party of the Nation. Within that entire great organization there is not one man, whose opinion is entitled to be quoted, that does not desire peace and harmony and friendship, and a patriotic and fraternal union

between the North and the South. This wish is spontaneous, instinctive, universal throughout the Northern States; and yet, among men of character and sense, there is surely no need of attempting to deceive ourselves as to the precise truth. First pure, then peaceable. Gush will not remove a grievance, and no disguise of State rights will close the eyes of our people to the necessity of correcting a great national wrong. Nor should the South make the fatal mistake of concluding that injustice to the Negro is not also injustice to the white man; nor should it ever be forgotten that for the wrongs of both a remedy will assuredly be found. The war, with all its costly sacrifices, was fought in vain, unless equal rights for all classes be established in all the States of the Union; and now, in words which are those of friendship, however differently they may be accepted, I tell the men of the South here on this floor and beyond this chamber, that even if they could strip the Negro of his constitutional rights, they can never permanently maintain the inequality of white men in this Nation—they can never make a white man's vote in the South doubly as powerful in the administration of the Government as a white man's vote in the North.

“In a memorable debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Macaulay reminded Daniel O'Connell, when he was moving for repeal, that the English Whigs had endured calumny, abuse, popular fury, loss of position, exclusion from Parliament, rather than the great Agitator himself should be less than a British subject; and Mr. Macaulay warned him that they would never suffer him to be more. And let me now remind you that the Government under whose protecting flag we sit to-day, sacrificed myriads of lives and expended thousands of millions of treasure that our countrymen of the South should remain citizens of the United States, having equal personal rights and equal political privileges with all other citizens. And I venture, now and here, to warn the men of the South, in the exact

words of Macaulay, that we will never suffer them to be more !”

TARIFF.

In April, 1878, Mr. Blaine offered these resolutions:

Resolved, That any radical change in our present tariff laws would, in the judgment of the Senate, be inopportune, would needlessly derange the business interests of the country, and would seriously retard that return to prosperity for which all should earnestly co-operate.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of the Senate, it should be the fixed policy of this Government so to maintain our tariff for revenue as to afford adequate protection to American labor.

Nine days after this, Mr. Blaine called up his resolutions, and urged their passage. The appointment of the tariff commission received consideration by the Senate, but Mr. Blaine thought it a most mischievous measure in its effects—not, of course, so designed by the mover of it—but he said that nothing would more effectually unsettle the business of the country, and that the roving of the commission over the country would only elongate the evil; would only increase it, and keep drawing it out over a long time. There was no form, in his judgment, which the tariff discussions or the tariff legislations could take, that would be fraught with more mischief to the country than to have the commission sitting upon it. After they had made their report, it could not affect legislation here or influence the opinion of any person in either branch of Congress one way or the other. “We have had many of these commissions upon divers and sundry subjects, and I have never known them to do a particle of good, so far as producing a result in practical legislation.”

After listening to a speech on the tariff, delivered by Senator Beck, Mr. Blaine said:

“MR. PRESIDENT: The honorable Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Beck), quite prematurely, and without my expectation, launched forth into an argument on the subject of the tariff; and very naturally, taking the side he

does, he quarrels with the civilization of the nineteenth century. He says it is the machinery that is to blame. We have got machinery in this country, he says, that will do the work of one hundred and seventy-five million men, and there is where all the trouble is. Of course, the logical result of the Senator's argument is to abolish the locomotive, the steam-engine and all modern appliances of transportation and manufacture, and go back to the handloom and the wagon. * * *

“The Senator said—he may correct his argument now—that we had the machinery here, which was the slave of the owners of it, that they could command it to stand still or to turn when they chose, that the laborer was their servant, and that he had no independence outside of the machinery. I do not understand any logical result, or see how the Senator can free the laborer from the position he puts him in, but by abolishing the machinery; I do not understand it otherwise. And I think among the anomalies that American politics turn up—and we meet many of them in this chamber—among the strange contradictions that history develops, is that the seat of Henry Clay, in the Senate of the United States, should be the place from which a free-trade argument to overthrow the American system and take the side of the free-trader should be made. It is one of the anomalies of American politics; and the argument of the Senator from Kentucky goes right back to what was said before the war by a distinguished southern man, that he hoped to see the day when the old barter between the English ship that was anchored in the Savannah or the Potomac, or the Cooper or the Ashley, should be resumed with the planter who shipped directly to England; and it is that spirit to-day which holds in manacles and paralyzes the development of the southern country.

“The Senator recalled to us the great tariff of Robert J. Walker, and cited to us the vast achievement of politi-

cal philosophy and economy that man presented to us in his three reports of 1845, 1846 and 1847. Well, the tariff of Robert J. Walker had abundant opportunity to 'run and be glorified' in this country, and it ran us into bankruptcy and want and ruin. It was modified in 1857, going still further in the same direction. The years 1857, 1858, 1859 and 1860 were years of prostration and financial ruin, and wide-spread disaster and want, in which the laborer was not employed. Those four years were much more severe in many portions of this country than even the four past years which we have just gone through. So, when the Senator presents to us the fact that Robert J. Walker established the tariff of 1846, he presents it as a beacon of warning to every man who remembers its effect throughout the length and breadth of the manufacturing industries of this country.

“There we see developed a little collision between our friends on the other side. When the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Beck) was laying down the Simon Pure Democratic doctrine as it was announced at the last national sanhedrim of that party, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Wallace) put in an exception, and the Senator from Pennsylvania said that it was fully understood that the free-trade side of the tariff question was not to be a Democratic doctrine, but that all the Congressional districts were to be left to determine that matter for themselves. Everybody knows that was a contrivance got up for the benefit of gentlemen placed exactly in the delicate attitude of the Senator from Pennsylvania, who have protective-tariff constituents behind, allied with the free-trade party in the country at large, and the guise which was made and attempted for the benefit of Mr. Greeley in his campaign, was boldly thrown off at St. Louis when Mr. Tilden became the standard-bearer.

“The Senator from Kentucky warned us that the trouble is radical, and he called up the fact of an Ameri-

can ship being launched a few days since on the **Delaware**; and he said you may build that ship at the same rate that an English ship is, load her with goods manufactured in this country as cheaply as in England, and send her to her port, and the trouble is she has nothing to bring back. I wish the Senator would give me his attention this moment. The trouble is that we have nothing to bring back, the Senator says. Well, he was singularly unfortunate in his allusion, because, of a total export annually from Brazil of less than \$90,000,000, we take \$40,000,000; of a total export from Brazil of \$500,000,000 within the last six years we have taken well-nigh \$250,000,000. The Senator says the trouble is that we may sail our ships wherever we please, but we can get no return cargo. I suppose the idea is that we had better take our coffee and dyewoods and other things of that sort from Brazil in British bottoms.

Mr. Beck.—Will the Senator allow me to say, that I referred to vessels sailing to Valparaiso and trading with Chili? and every fact I stated is true, and I hold evidence in my hand, compiled by Mr. Wells in a little work that the Senator from Maine would do well to read, giving exactly the facts that I stated. As to Brazil, we have more trade with her because coffee has been made free lately; and that is the only reason we trade with Brazil.

Mr. Blaine.—We took scarcely less coffee when it was taxed.

Mr. Beck.—I never mentioned Brazil in my remarks.

Mr. Blaine.—The Senator mentioned the City of Para and the port to which she was destined to run. The City of Para was launched for a Brazilian line, and all the parade of Congress and the President that went over there was to inaugurate that line. Is not that the fact? You may mention any other South American port, but you do not change the argument a particle. We take a great deal more from all these countries than we send to them, and

yet the Senator says the trouble is we can get no return cargo. His argument does not stand at all. Mr. President, there is no more hurtful agitation to-day in this country than the agitation of the tariff. The Senator talks of a lobby being here. That is always the cry, when anything comes up, "there is a lobby!" Has the Senator seen a tariff lobby here?

Mr. Beck.—I served upon the Committee of Ways and Means in the House under the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Dawes), and our room was full of them, from the time we met until we adjourned, demanding more protection.

Mr. Blaine.—When the gentleman was on the Committee of Ways and Means, the persons interested in the tariff were coming there to give testimony; they were coming to give just what you propose now to get a Commission to give. They were coming in there to give you voluntarily what you propose to get a roving Commission rambling all over the country to inquire into.

Mr. Beck.—I am not a member of the present Committee on Finance, and how far their rooms are filled I cannot tell, but I know that there are men here from all parts of the country resisting the reduction of the tariff.

Mr. Blaine.—Very well. Now I ask the Senator from Kentucky another question. Does he know of, has he seen, a petition presented in either House of Congress at the present session for a repeal or modification of the present tariff?

Mr. Beck.—I will answer the Senator that the great unorganized mass of the people have nobody to speak for them.

Mr. Blaine.—Ah!

Mr. Beck.—It is only the classes that are interested who come here. Did the Senator ever know of petitions asking for a reduction of taxes?

Mr. Blaine.—What is to hinder the great unorganized

mass of people out in Kentucky sending petitions to their distinguished Senators to be presented here?

Mr. Beck.—Because they have to rely on their Representatives on this floor and the other to speak for them; but it is men who want something, special protection, to tax all the people to give them more, that are always here asking for more. Of course, the people who are interested are scattered all over the country, and can neither organize nor get together. They have no clubs, they have no rings, they have no associations through which they can speak.

Mr. Dawes.—The Senator from Kentucky has alluded to his service upon the Committee of Ways and Means in the House of Representatives, and said that the room of the Committee of Ways and Means was crowded with men demanding more protection. Does the Senator mean to say that there was one more man in the room of the Committee of Ways and Means demanding protection than there were men demanding that the tariff should be reduced? Does not the Senator know that there were organizations represented before the committee, whose sole purpose it was to institute just such a tariff as the tariff of 1846? They had their organs here; they had their office in this city; they had their bureau; they had their men employed on a salary here who were in the room of the Committee of Ways and Means, day in and day out, urging their consideration upon the Committee; and the result of it all was that they were discomfited and routed in the argument, and they have been quiet from that day to this.

Mr. Beck.—I never heard of organizations of that sort. There may have been, and the Senator from Massachusetts may know of them.

Mr. Dawes.—If the Senator from Kentucky has forgotten the names of those who represented those organizations, I can give them to him.

Mr. Beck.—What organizations were they?

Mr. Dawes.—There was an organization represented by a man by the name of Grosvenor, from Missouri here, who had a bureau on Pennsylvania avenue, and who urged upon that Committee a system of tariff which would put the manufactured article below the raw material in the duty; and when I suggested to him to make a tariff upon his principle and bring it to the committee-room, which would raise a revenue that would defray the expenses of the Government and pay the interest on the national debt, and I would submit it, he utterly failed and confessed his inability to do it. The Committee of Ways and Means had to meet this question to raise revenue for the country and pay the interest on the public debt, and say whether they would put the duty for that purpose on the raw material or upon the manufactured article, and the Committee of Ways and Means came to the conclusion, after having heard all parties, that it was wiser to put it upon the manufactured article than upon the raw material; and the policy of that committee was to put the raw material, wherever it was produced, at the door of the shop of the manufacturer as cheaply as it was possible to do it, taking off the duty and reducing the transportation, putting it at the door of the manufacturer as cheaply as possible, and put the duty upon tea and coffee and upon the manufactured articles to meet the exigencies of the country.

Mr. Blaine.—But there was one very remarkable exception of raw material, and that was hemp, which was produced by the State of Kentucky. While they took good care to make almost all other raw materials cheap, I think the honorable Senator from Kentucky wisely looked out for his own State, and got a very large duty put on hemp, jute, and all kindred grasses.

Mr. Beck.—I desire to say to the Senator from Maine and the Senator from Massachusetts, that they are unfortunate in their facts, because they are not true.

Mr. Blaine.—All I know on that point is, that the Senator from Kentucky was a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and that in the tariff bill reported there was a very large protection, which I believe still exists, on hemp. It was exceptionally large, as contrasted with the other raw materials needed for the manufactures of this country, and I always gave credit to the Senator from Kentucky, who is a watchful and able and zealous representative of his constituents, for getting that protection put in. He took good care to have his own doorstep swept very clean, but seems to have cared very little about what became of his neighbors.

Mr. Beck.—That is all very smart. I have answered that the facts are not so, and I will show it to-morrow when I get a chance.

Mr. Blaine.—If the Senator can show that there has not been, from the time he was a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, an exceptionally heavy duty on hemp, then he can show that I am mistaken, and I will very gracefully, or as gracefully as I can, acknowledge it; but I think the Senator from Kentucky will not be quite able to show the fact. I do not wish to trench upon the time given to other measures before the Senate; but this matter I hope will come up when we can have a freer discussion.

REMOVING DISABILITIES.

In the spring of 1878 there was a bill before the Senate making appropriations for arrears of pensions. Mr. Blaine took an active part in the discussion, the most interesting portion of which pertained to remarks on removing the disabilities from Jefferson Davis. He defended the action of the Republican party regarding amnesty, and in reply to a remark of Mr. Thurman, Mr. Blaine resented with some little feeling the Senator's complaint that the Republicans were taking some extraordinary course with the name of Jefferson Davis. "We do not

bring him here," said Mr. Blaine. "You bear his mangled remains before us, and then, if we do not happen to view them with the same admiration that seems to inspire the Senator from Ohio, we are doing something derogatory to our own dignity and to the honor of the country; and when the honorable Senator from Mississippi comes to his defense, the first word he had to speak for Mr. Davis was that he never counseled insurrection against the government. I took the words down. He has never counseled insurrection! Let us be thankful. Why should we not pension a man who has shown such loyalty that he has never counseled insurrection? That is from the representative of his own State. I took the words down when he spoke them; I was amazed; I did not exactly consider the words of the honorable Senator from Mississippi a wanton insult to apply to me or anybody else, but I consider them to be most extraordinary words, that when pleading the cause of Jefferson Davis at the bar of the American Senate to be pensioned on its roll of honor, his personal representative, his associate, his friend, his follower, commends him to the American people, because he has been so loyal that he has never counseled insurrection since the war was over.

"This is the man brought in here who, according to the Senator from Mississippi, is to go down to history the peer of Washington and Hampden, fighting in the same cause, entitled to the same niche in history, inspired by the same patriotic motives, to be admired for the same self-consecration.

"Let me tell the honorable Senator from Mississippi, that in all the years that I have served in Congress I have never voluntarily brought the name of Jefferson Davis before either branch; but I tell him that he is asking humanity to forget its instincts and patriotism to be changed to crime, before he will find impartial history place Mr. Jefferson Davis anywhere in the roll that has for its

brightest and greatest names, George Washington and John Hampden.

“The government of the United States never disfranchised or put under political disabilities more than fourteen thousand men in the entire south. Out of two millions who were in the war it never disfranchised over fourteen thousand men. There are not two hundred left to-day with political disabilities upon them. There is not one that ever respectfully, or any other way, petitioned to be relieved and was refused. I know very well what the honorable Senator from Ohio meant, when he said that Hon. Jefferson Davis should commend himself, because he was not an office-seeker and had not asked to be relieved of disabilities. Why, if the newspapers are to be credited, especially those in the Southern Democratic interest, Mr. Davis is a candidate for office; he is pledged to sit on the other side of this Chamber two years hence, and the honorable Senator from Ohio will in the next Congress with his eloquence—I am predicting now—urge that these disabilities be removed from him. I predict further that he will urge it without Jefferson Davis paying the respect to the great government against which he rebelled, simply asking in respectful language that disabilities be taken from him. He has never asked it; I am very sure that another great leader in the south, Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, has boasted that he would never do it; and in the House of Representatives three years ago, when the general amnesty bill was pending and it was proposed that the amnesty should be granted merely on the condition that it should be asked for by each person desiring it, that it was resisted to the bitter end—this great government was to go to them and ask them if they would take it. The action of the Democratic House of Representatives—I am speaking of the past now, which is quite within parliamentary limits—the action of the Democratic House of Representatives was not that Jefferson Davis might have his disabili-

ties removed upon respectful petition, but that we should go to him and petition him to allow us to remove them."

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Senator Blaine having canvassed in the interest of the Republican party in the fall of 1878, entered the Senate in December of that year. During this session the Chinese bill created much interest. The bill did not propose to interfere or disturb any Chinamen then in the country, but applied only to the future; and in favor of this bill Mr. Blaine's voice was heard both in the Senate and out of it. Mr. William Lloyd Garrison had published in the New York papers some remarks reflecting upon the Senators who voted for the bill restricting Chinese immigration. Mr. Blaine wrote a letter to Mr. Garrison, setting forth his views upon the subject. He gave ten reasons for his support of the bill, calling attention to Mr. Carlisle's statement that America would have no trouble so long as it had few people and much land, but when it should have much people and little land its trials would begin. In giving one of his reasons, Mr. Blaine said that "if the Chinese felt that they were safe and had a firm footing in California, they would come in enormous numbers, because the population of China was practically inexhaustible. Such, indeed, is the unbroken testimony of all who were entitled to express an opinion. The decision of Congress on this matter, therefore, becomes one of the very greatest importance. Had they been in favor of Chinese immigration, with the encouragement and protection of them, they would have imposed it. It requires no vivid imagination to foresee all the great slope between the Sierras and the Pacific become the emigrating ground from the Chinese empire, so that I do not at all exaggerate when I say that on the adoption and recognition of the policy passed upon by Congress hangs the fate of the Pacific slope, whether its labor shall be that of American free-

men or servile Mongolians. If Mr. Garrison declares the interests of his countrymen, his own government, and in a still larger sense, the interests of humanity and civilization will be promoted by giving up the Pacific slope to Mongolian labor, I beg respectfully to differ from him; but Mr. Lloyd Garrison would not feel obliged to receive in his family a person that would physically contaminate or morally corrupt his children. As with a family so with a nation. The same instincts of self-preservation exist, the same right to prefer the interests of our own people, the same duty to exclude that which is corrupting and vile from the Republic. The article on immigration in the Chinese treaty has not been observed by that government for a single hour since it was made. All the testimony taken on the subject, and it has been full and copious, shows conclusively that the entire immigration was under contract; that the coolies had been gathered together for export, and gathered as agents in our western States would gather live stock for shipment.

“ A very competent witness in California, speaking upon this point, says that on the arrival of the Chinese in California, they are consigned like hogs to the different Chinese companies. The cooly commences to pay his company certain earnings. This is to insure care if he is taken sick, and his return home dead or alive. His return is prevented until after his contract has been fulfilled. If he breaks his contract, the spies of the Six Companies hunt him to prevent his returning to China. By arrangement with the steamship company or their agents, he is prevented from getting a ticket; and the agents of the steamship company testified to the same fact. If a ticket is obtained for him by others, he is forcibly stopped on the day of sailing by the employes of the Six Companies, called highbinders, who can always be seen guarding the coolies.”

Mr. Joseph J. Ray, of Philadelphia, and a long resident in China, and a close observer of its emigration,

testifies that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of the Chinese who have reached our shores were not free agents in their coming. Files of the Hong Kong newspapers from 1861, would supply information regarding the barracoons at that port. When the system had become too great a scandal, they were removed to Macao, a Portuguese colony, forty miles distant, in which the Chinese, in every sense prisoners, were retained until their shipment to San Francisco. These, called by courtesy emigrants, were collected from within the radius of from two hundred to three hundred miles from Canton, and consisted of the abjectly poor, who, willingly or not, were sold to obtain food for their families or for gambling debts, or they were the scape-graces of the country fleeing to avoid punishment."

Mr. Blaine's great array of facts could not well be resisted, and they were so fully appreciated by the inhabitants of the Pacific slope that Mr. Blaine in that portion of the country was rendered pre-eminently popular among the people.

PEACE AT THE POLLS.

The following April the Senate had under consideration the bill making appropriations for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes. Upon an amendment to this bill whereby every civil officer should be prohibited from calling upon United States troops to keep the peace at the polls, Mr. Blaine delivered a speech in which the spectre of terrorism lost its frightful aspect when it was shown that it would be the function of every individual soldier in the army to overrun seven hundred square miles and intimidate about forty thousand able-bodied voters, in order to realize the pretended fears of the Democrats.

Mr. Blaine spoke as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT: The existing section of the revised statutes numbered 2002 reads thus: No military or naval

officer, or other person engaged in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, shall order, bring, keep or have under his authority or control, any troops or armed men at the place where any general or special election is held in any State, unless it be necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States, *or to keep the peace at the polls.*

“The object of the proposed section, which has just been read at the Clerk’s desk, is to get rid of the eight closing words, namely, ‘or to keep the peace at the polls.’ and therefore the mode of legislation proposed in the army bill now before the Senate is an unusual mode; it is an extraordinary mode. If you want to take off a single sentence at the end of a section in the revised statutes the ordinary way is to strike off those words, but the mode chosen in this bill is to repeat and re-enact the whole section, leaving those few words out. While I do not wish to be needlessly suspicious on a small point, I am quite persuaded that this did not happen by accident, but that it came by design. If I may so speak, it came of cunning, the intent being to create the impression that, whereas the Republicans in the administration of the general government had been using troops right and left, hither and thither, in every direction, as soon as the Democrats got power they enacted this section. I can imagine Democratic candidates for Congress all over the country reading this section to gaping and listening audiences as one of the first offsprings of Democratic reform, whereas every word of it, every syllable of it, from its first to its last, is the enactment of a Republican Congress.

“I repeat that this unusual form presents a dishonest issue, whether so intended or not. It presents the issue that as soon as the Democrats got possession of the federal government they proceeded to enact the clause which is thus expressed. The law was passed by a Republican Congress in 1865. There were forty-six Senators sitting in

this chamber at the time, of whom only ten, or at most eleven, were Democrats. The House of Representatives was overwhelmingly Republican. We were in the midst of a war. The Republican administration had a million, or possibly twelve hundred thousand, bayonets at its command. Thus circumstanced and thus surrounded, with the amplest possible power to interfere with elections had they so designed, with soldiers in every hamlet and county of the United States, the Republican party themselves placed that provision on the statute-book, and Abraham Lincoln, their President, signed it.

“I beg you to observe, Mr. President, that this is the first instance in the legislation of the United States, in which any restrictive clause whatever was put upon the statute-book in regard to the use of troops at the polls. The Republican party did it with the Senate and the House in their control. Abraham Lincoln signed it when he was commander-in-chief of an army larger than ever Napoleon Bonaparte had at his command. So much by way of correcting an ingenious and studied attempt at misrepresentation.

“The alleged object is to strike out the few words that authorize the use of troops to keep peace at the polls. This country has been alarmed, I rather think, indeed, amused, at the great effort made to create a wide-spread impression that the Republican party relies for its popular strength upon the use of the bayonet. This Democratic Congress has attempted to give a bad name to this country throughout the civilized world, and to give it on a false issue. They have raised an issue that has no foundation in fact—that is false in whole and detail, false in the charge, false in all the specifications. That impression sought to be created, as I say, not only throughout the North American continent, but in Europe to-day, is that elections are attempted in this country to be controlled by the bayonet.

“I denounce it here as a false issue. I am not at liberty to say that any gentleman making the issue knows it to be false; I hope he does not; but I am going to prove to him that it is false, and that there is not a solitary inch of solid earth on which to rest the foot of any man that makes that issue. I have in my hand an official transcript of the location and the number of all the troops of the United States east of Omaha. By ‘east of Omaha,’ I mean all the United States east of the Mississippi river and that belt of States that border the Mississippi river on the west, including about forty-one millions out of the forty-five millions of people that this country is supposed to contain to-day. In that magnificent area—I will not pretend to state its extent—but with forty-one millions of people—how many troops of the United States are there to-day? Would any Senator on the opposite side like to guess, or would he like to state, how many men with muskets in their hands there are in the vast area I have named? There are two thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven! And not one more.

“From the headwaters of the Mississippi river to the lakes, and down the great chain of lakes, and down the Saint Lawrence, and down the valley of the Saint John, and down the Saint Croix, striking the Atlantic ocean and following it down to Key West, around the gulf, up to the mouth of the Mississippi again, a frontier of eight thousand miles, either bordering on the ocean or upon foreign territory, is guarded by these troops. Within this domain forty-five fortifications are manned and eleven arsenals protected. There are sixty troops to every million of people. In the South I have the entire number in each State, and will give it.

“I believe the Senator from Delaware is alarmed, greatly alarmed, about the over-riding of the popular ballot by troops of the United States! In Delaware there is not

a single armed man—not one. The United States has not even one soldier in the State.

“The honorable Senator from West Virginia (Mr. Hereford), on Friday last, lashed himself into a passion, or at least into a perspiration, over the wrongs of his State, trodden down by the iron heel of military despotism. There is not a solitary man of the United States, uniformed, on the soil of West Virginia, and there has not been for years.

“In Maryland?—I do not know whether my esteemed friend from Maryland (Mr. Whyte) has been greatly alarmed or not; but at Fort McHenry, guarding the entrance to the beautiful harbor of his beautiful city, there are one hundred and ninety-two artillerymen located.

“In Virginia, there is a school of practice at Fortress Monroe. My honorable friend (Mr. Withers), who has charge of this bill, knows very well, and if he does not I will tell him, that outside of that school of practice at Fortress Monroe, which has two hundred and eighty-two men in it, there is not a federal soldier on the soil of Virginia—not one.

“North Carolina. Are the Senators from that State alarmed at the immediate and terrible prospect of being over-run by the army of the United States? On the whole soil of North Carolina there are but thirty soldiers guarding a fort at the mouth of Cape Fear river—just thirty.

“South Carolina. I do not see a Senator on the floor from that State. There are one hundred and twenty artillerymen guarding the approaches to Charleston harbor, and not another soldier on her soil.

“Georgia. Does my gallant friend from Georgia (Mr. Gordon), who knows better than I the force and strength of military organization—the senior Senator, and the junior also—are both or either of those Senators alarmed at the presence of twenty-nine soldiers in Georgia? [Laughter.] There are just twenty-nine there.

“Florida has one hundred and eighty-two at three separate posts, principally guarding the navy yard, near which my friend on the opposite side (Mr. Jones) lives.

“Tennessee. Is the honorable Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Bailey) alarmed at the progress of military despotism in his State? There is not a single federal soldier on the soil of Tennessee—not one.

“Kentucky. I see both the honorable Senators from Kentucky here. They have equal cause with Tennessee to be alarmed, for there is not a federal soldier in Kentucky—not one!

“Missouri. Not one.

“Arkansas. Fifty-seven in Arkansas.

“Alabama. I think my friend from Alabama (Mr. Morgan) is greatly excited over this question, and in his State there are thirty-two federal soldiers located at an arsenal of the United States.

“Mississippi. The great State of Mississippi, that is in danger of being trodden under the iron hoof of military power, has not a federal soldier on its soil.

“Louisiana has two hundred and thirty-nine.

“Texas, apart from the regiments that guard the frontier on the Rio Grande and the Indian frontier, has not one.

“And the entire South has eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers to intimidate, over-run, oppress and destroy the liberties of fifteen million people! In the Southern States there are twelve hundred and three counties. If you distribute the soldiers, there is not quite one for each county; and when I give the counties I give them from the census of 1870. If you distribute them territorially there is one for every seven hundred square miles of territory, so that if you make a territorial distribution, I would remind the honorable Senator from Delaware, if I saw him in his seat, that the quota for his State would be three—‘one ragged sergeant and two abreast,’ as the old song has it. [Laugh-

ter.] That is the force ready to destroy the liberties of Delaware!

“Mr. President, it was said, as the old maxim has it, that the soothsayers of Rome could not look each other in the face without smiling. There are not two Democratic Senators on this floor who can go into the cloak-room and look each other in the face without smiling at this talk, or, more appropriately, I should say, without blushing—the whole thing is such a prodigious and absolute farce, such a miserably manufactured false issue, such a pretense without the slightest foundation in the world, and talked about most and denounced the loudest in States that have not had a single federal soldier. In New England we have three hundred and eighty soldiers. Throughout the South it does not run quite seventy to the million people. In New England we have absolutely one hundred and twenty soldiers to the million. New England is far more over-run to-day by the federal soldier, immensely more, than the whole South is. I never heard anybody complain about it in New England, or express any very great fear of their liberties being endangered by the presence of a handful of troops.

“As I have said, the tendency of this talk is to give us a bad name in Europe. Republican institutions are looked upon there with jealousy. Every misrepresentation, every slander, is taken up and exaggerated and talked about to our discredit, and the Democratic party of the country to-day stands indicted, and I here indict them, for public slander of their country, creating the impression in the civilized world that we are governed by a ruthless military despotism. I wonder how amazing it would be to any man in Europe, familiar as Europeans are with great armies, if he were told that over a territory larger than France and Spain and Portugal and Great Britain and Holland and Belgium and the German Empire all combined, there were but eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers! That is all

this Democratic howl, this mad cry, this false issue, this absurd talk, is based on—the presence of eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers on eight hundred and fifty thousand square miles of territory, not double the number of the Democratic police in the city of Baltimore, not a third of the police in the city of New York, not double the Democratic police in the city of New Orleans. I repeat, the number indicts them; it stamps the whole cry as without any foundation; it derides the issue as a false and scandalous and partisan make-shift.

“What then is the real motive underlying this movement? Senators on that side, Democratic orators on the stump, cannot make any sensible set of men at the cross-roads believe that they are afraid of eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers distributed one to each county in the South. The minute you state that, everybody sees the utter, palpable, and laughable absurdity of it, and therefore we must go further and find a motive for all this cry. We want to find out, to use a familiar and vulgar phrase, what is ‘the cat under the meal.’ It is not the troops. That is evident. There are more troops, by fifty per cent, scattered through the Northern States east of the Mississippi to-day than through the Southern States east of the Mississippi, and yet nobody in the North speaks of it; everybody would be laughed at for speaking of it; and therefore the issue, I take no risk in stating, I make bold to declare, that this issue on the troops being a false one, being one without foundation, conceals the true issue, which is simply to get rid of the federal presence at federal elections, to get rid of the *civil power of the United States* in the election of Representatives to the Congress of the United States. That is the whole of it; and, disguise it as you may, there is nothing else in it or of it.”

ORDER OUT OF CHAOS.

In September, 1878, an election was held in Maine for

the office of Governor. The very next day after the election, it was notorious that the Republicans had carried the State. It soon became known that Davis, the Republican candidate for Governor had about three times as many votes as Garcelon, the Democratic candidate, a vast plurality over Smith, the Greenback candidate, and came within a few votes of having a majority over all the other candidates. The counting of the votes showed that the Republicans had elected ninety members of the House against sixty-one members elected by the Democrats and Greenbackers, and eighteen Republican Senators against thirteen Fusionists. The result when definitely ascertained, was promulgated throughout the country and contested by the Democrats.

It soon began to be noised about that the Democratic majority had organized a conspiracy to count out the Republicans. The Governor and his Council were the Returning Board of the State; Garcelon and his associates were pliant tools in the hands of the conspirators. The canvassing of the returns began in September, and were according to star chamber fashion. The Republican candidates applied in person, through counsel and through the Republican committee, for the privilege of scrutinizing the returns, with a view to correcting any errors; but they were refused. The Democratic and Greenback candidates had been given the privilege which was denied to the Republicans.

The conspiracy contemplated the election of Smith, the Greenbacker, as Governor, with the understanding that the Democrats should have the United States Senator the next year. During a part of December and the following January, Maine was almost on the verge of civil war and anarchy. The Republican party, with its troubles at this time, was conducted by Mr. Blaine, through whose steadiness and perseverance law and order were brought out of chaos and threatened violence.

It has been said that no finer display of statesmanlike qualities has been seen in this country than those exhibited by Mr. Blaine in the protracted and perilous struggle in Maine, for in this trying time he exhibited all the qualities requisite for the discharge of delicate and difficult duties connected with an executive station.

OHIO CAMPAIGN, 1879.

In the fall of 1879, during the political campaign in Ohio, Mr. Blaine took an active part, and his political tour through the State was similar to a triumphal march; enormous audiences and great enthusiasm greeted him in every portion of the State. Charles Foster was a candidate for Governor, and for his election Mr. Blaine labored earnestly and actively, although Thomas Ewing, the cousin of Mr. Blaine was running for the same office as that of Mr. Foster. The Republican candidate was elected by a large majority. At Columbus, though incidentally passing through on his way to Pomeroy, Senator Blaine met with the most spontaneous reception that had been accorded to any public man for years. An immense concourse of people met the Senator at the depot with bands of music and escorted him to the hotel. Notwithstanding the fact that the Senator had declared that he was unable to speak, an assemblage of over four thousand people declined to leave. An elevation was secured, and mounting it the Senator addressed the audience for half an hour, receiving the most emphatic applause. "Blaine from Maine" was on every one's lips, and at every railroad station large crowds gathered to catch a glimpse of their political friend. At Kenton, he addressed a monster meeting. At London, bonfires and colored lights beautifully illuminated the town, and the "Man from Maine" was again forced to make a short speech. He traveled one hundred miles by rail, and made four speeches between noon and night. This is but an instance of ovations paid to him.

Public sentiment at that time was turning toward Mr. Blaine, and it was remarked that his visit to the State would give him a prestige which could not be overcome by other presidential aspirants. Mr. Blaine was at Bellaire on the 26th of September. From the time that he landed in that place amid the firing of cannon and the playing of music, until he reached Steubenville, he was surrounded by crowds wherever he appeared. At Bellaire, the people seemed almost wild to see him and to shake hands with him over the Republican prospects. He was surrounded by a continual jam, and men and beardless youths were among the foremost to shake hands with him.

Many incidents will show Mr. Blaine's faculty of remembering every person and every circumstance with which he has been connected. When Mr. Blaine stepped on the stage before opening his speech, a short, red-faced man rushed up to him and grasped him by the hand, saying: "Mr. Blaine, I don't suppose you remember me, but I knew you when you were a student." "Yes, I do," said Mr. Blaine. "Your name is Israel Werich, and you used to live at Colesworthtown." "That's my name," answered the man; "but you are mistaken about the place. I lived at another place." "No, no; it was Colesworth," emphatically answered Mr. Blaine; "I remember meeting you there once, and you told me you lived there." The man looked up quick, with a smiling recollection, and said: "Yes, Senator, you are right; I remember it well now; but I staid there only a short time, and had forgotten it." The little man got down off the stage and went away laughing, and telling every one that he knew Blaine well, and he and the Senator had been talking over old times together. When the train stopped at Bridgeport an old man entered the train and said he wanted to see Blaine. Mr. Blaine was pointed out to him. He then walked slowly up to him, and, extending his trembling hand, said: "Mr. Blaine, I want to shake hands with you. I shook

hands with General La Fayette, with Abraham Lincoln, with Andrew Jackson and with General Grant, and I want to shake hands with you." The Senator gave him a hearty shake, and the old man departed rejoicing.

During his stay in Steubenville his hotel was filled with visitors, and Garrett's hall, where his meeting was held, was crowded to its utmost capacity. The large crowd accompanied him to the depot, and as the train left, three loud cheers went up for the Senator from Maine, from the crowd on the platform.

While Mr. Blaine was standing on the platform, a coach was driven up, and the shriveled hand of an old gray-headed man was seen extending from its open door to the crowd who were standing around the Senator. Mr. Blaine went up to the coach and was then introduced to the old colored man, who said he had felt that he must see "Dat Jimmie Blaine." He had known Mr. Blaine's father well, and had been acquainted with the then prospective Senator when he was yet in short clothes. During the whole of the trip Mr. Blaine was repeatedly told by people that they wanted to see him their next President, and the subject was much talked of among the people in the crowd. Senator Blaine, however, always shook his head at these remarks, and modestly said that he did not expect any such thing. Just as he was leaving Steubenville, a working man entered the train, and extending his hand, said, "Senator, I want to shake hands with the next President of the United States." "You won't find him in this car, my friend," replied Mr. Blaine, as he cordially shook the hand extended to him.

EULOGY ON SENATOR CHANDLER.

Mr. Blaine's eulogy on the late United States Senator, Zachariah Chandler, delivered in the United States Senate, in January, 1880, has been much read and widely circulated. "Mr. Chandler's fame," said Mr. Blaine, "was

enlarged by his successful administration of an important cabinet position. Called by President Grant to the head of the Interior Department by telegraphic summons, he accepted without reluctance and without distrust. His eighteen years of positive and uncompromising course in the Senate had borne the inevitable fruit of many enmities, as well as the rich reward of countless friends. The appointment was severely criticised and unsparingly condemned by many who, a year later, were sufficiently just and magnanimous to withdraw their harsh words and bear generous testimony to his executive ability, his painstaking industry, and his inflexible integrity; to his admirable talent for thorough organization, and to his prompt and graceful dispatch of public business. What his friends had before known of his character and his capacity, the chance of a few brief months in an administrative position had revealed to his entire country, and had placed in history.

“It would not be just, even in the generous indulgence conceded to eulogy, to speak of Mr. Chandler as a man without faults. But assuredly no enemy, if there be one above his lifeless form, will ever say that he had mean faults. They were all on the generous and larger side of his nature. In amassing his princely fortune he never exacted the pound of flesh; he never ground the faces of the poor; he was never even harsh to an honest debtor unable to pay. His wealth came to him through his own great ability, devoted with unremitting industry for a third of a century to honorable trade in that enlarging, ever-expanding region whose capacities and resources he was among the earliest to foresee and appreciate.

“To his friends, Mr. Chandler was devotedly true. Like Colonel Benton, he did not use the word ‘friend’ lightly, and without meaning. Nor did he ever pretend to be friendly to a man whom he did not like. He never dissembled. To describe him in the plain and vigorous

Saxon which he spoke himself—he was a true friend, a hard hitter, an honest hater.

“In that inner circle of home life, sacred almost from preference, Mr. Chandler was chivalric in devotion, inexhaustible in affection, and exceptionally happy in all his relations. Whatever of sternness there was in his character, whatever of roughness in his demeanor, whatever of irritability in his temper, were one and all laid aside when he sat at his own hearthstone, or dispensed graceful and generous hospitality to unnumbered guests. There he was seen at his best, and there his friends best love to recall him. As Burke said of Lord Keppel, ‘He was a wild stock of pride on which the tenderest of hearts had grafted the milder virtues.’

“A sage, whose words have comforted many generations of men, tells us that when death comes, every one can see its deplorable and grievous side—only the wise can see causes for reconciliation. Let us be wise to-day, and celebrate the memory of a man who stood on the confines of age without once feeling its weakness or realizing its decay—who passed sixty-six years in this world without losing a single day of mental activity or physical strength; who had a business career of great length and unbroken prosperity; who had attained in public life a fourth election to the Senate of the United States—an honor enjoyed by fewer men in the republic than even its chief rulership; and who, strengthening with his years, stood higher in the regard of his countrymen, stronger with his constituency, nearer to his friends, dearer to his kindred, at the close of his career, than on any preceding day of his eventful life.”

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1880.

The Republican National Convention at Chicago, was organized on the 2d of June with the Hon. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, as temporary chairman. Consid-

erable time was consumed in calling the roll of States and Territories, for the appointment of committees, and for the presentation of credentials. General U. S. Grant, James G. Blaine, and John Sherman, were the most prominent candidates before the people for the Republican nomination.

General U. S. Grant had a short time previously returned from a tour around the world, and his political admirers were very ardent in pressing his claims before the people of the Nation. The supporters of Senator Blaine were very enthusiastic in promoting the interests of their candidate, and the adherents of Mr. Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, comprised some men of influence, among whom was General Garfield. The interests of General Grant at the convention were headed by Senators Roscoe Conkling, of New York; James D. Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and John A. Logan, of Illinois. The alliance of these three men gave them great power at the convention, and their efforts were of an aggressive character. Each Senator had an unusual amount of influence in his State, and any effort to overcome the influence of these three statesmen had necessarily to be very great; but the people as a mass entered a protest against a third term.

Immediately preceding the convention, an anti-Grant meeting was held in Chicago, being an immense popular outpouring; and it manifested a sentiment which could not be mistaken. The most radical utterances were the most loudly cheered, and the people declared that they would not submit to boss rule; that they would not have a third term; and that they "would defeat all the attempts to deprive them of their liberties." A more earnest audience was never seen in Chicago. People came there determined to be pleased, but they would not support the third term, as much as they admired the great General. They shouted themselves hoarse for Blaine and other favorite candidates. Against the combinations in favor of General Grant were the friends of the other candidates for the Republican

nomination. These candidates were Senator James G. Blaine, of Maine; Senator George Edmunds, of Vermont; Senator William Windom, of Minnesota; John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, and the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois. Notwithstanding the great efforts put forth by the Senators in favor of General Grant, many of the States sent Blaine delegates to Chicago, and a large number of leading newspapers in the country were his enthusiastic admirers. The Republican masses desired his nomination, and it was evident that he was the people's favorite, as he had been at Cincinnati in 1876, and they could have no sympathy with the third-term movement in favor of the ex-President.

The convention was one of the most important ever held in the United States; it was a struggle from beginning to end, a battle-ground on which were settled some very important questions. The right of the people to select their own delegates, the unit rule, and district representation were settled after a long and hard-fought struggle.

Senator Cameron was chairman of the Republican National Committee. Usage, which holds good to-day, has made it the duty of the chairman of this committee to call the national convention to order and to nominate a temporary chairman; if no objection be made, the person proposed by the chairman of the committee is elected, and then the chairman of the committee drops out of official sight. Until the temporary chairman is appointed by the convention, the chairman of the national committee is the presiding officer.

The unit rule provides that the majority of each delegation shall be permitted to vote for themselves and also for the minority of such delegation; while the opposite position allows each delegate to vote for himself and have his vote recorded as he may direct. A majority of the committee decided that in organizing the convention to the extent of appointing a temporary chairman, if a vote

should be taken, the delegates should be allowed to vote individually, each man's vote to be recorded as he should give it. Senator Cameron, without regard to this, insisted that instead of recording the vote of New York forty-eight for Grant, twenty for Blaine, two for Sherman, it should be recorded seventy for Grant, if the majority of the delegation so directed; and instead of recording the vote of Pennsylvania thirty-five for Grant, twenty-three for Blaine, it should be recorded fifty-eight for Grant, if the majority of the delegates should so direct. In this way the forty-five delegates of two States would be denied the right of voting, and their votes would be given in direct opposition to their wishes and those of their districts, and would make a difference of ninety votes in the final result.

To the unit rule the Grant forces were fully committed, for it was only through this rule that they could force the nomination of their candidate. The Republican National Committee met at the Palmer House before the convention opened. An effort was made by the anti-Grant men to break down the unit rule by which they could prevent the delegates from New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, from compliance with the wishes of Senators Logan, Conkling, and Cameron. Mr. Chandler, of New Hampshire, a supporter of Senator Blaine, offered two resolutions recognizing the right of individual delegates to vote according to their wishes, disregarding the actions of their State conventions, which bound them to vote as a unit. Mr. Chandler's first resolution was adopted unanimously, but the second resolution was ruled out of order by Chairman Cameron, who refused to entertain an appeal from his decision. Mr. Frye, of Maine, wanted to know where the chairman had learned parliamentary law, and Mr. Chandler announced that if the chairman would not comply with the wishes of the committee, the same power that had elected him could depose him and elect another. A committee of six was appointed to nominate a tempo-

rary chairman, and the committee adjourned for a recess. The resolution during intermission, determined upon by the anti-Grant men to deprive Cameron of his power, was modified when the committee reconvened. It was in session till midnight, but before adjourning it selected the Hon. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, as temporary chairman, and adopted a resolution that, should Mr. Cameron be unable for any cause to present to the convention the name of Mr. Hoar, Mr. Chandler as chairman of the committee should report his name and make the proper presentation. Intense excitement prevailed over these proceedings, and Senator Cameron's arbitrary ruling resulted in a protest by New York and Pennsylvania delegates in language such as the following:

“The undersigned, delegates to the Republican National Convention, representing our several congressional districts from the State of New York, are desirous of the success of the Republican party at the election, and realizing the ruination attending an injudicious nomination, declare our purpose to resist the nomination of General U. S. Grant by all honorable means. We are sincere in the conviction that in New York at least his nomination will insure defeat. We have a great battle to fight, and victory is within our reach, but we earnestly protest against entering the contest with a nomination which we regard as unwise and perilous.”

Mr. Arthur, on behalf of the Grant supporters, was the one who proposed that Senator Hoar be accepted as temporary chairman of the convention. He suggested that nothing be done toward enforcing the unit rule until the committee on credentials should report, at which time the question of the unit rule could be settled by the convention in its own way. After due deliberation this proposition was accepted by the anti-Grant men, and it was agreed that the regular delegates from Louisiana and Illinois should be allowed to participate in the temporary

organization, after which they could take their chances with the committee on credentials.

Senator Cameron having called the convention to order delivered a short address and presented the name of Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, as temporary chairman. Contestants were announced from Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Utah, and ten districts of Illinois. Mr. Conger, of Michigan, was elected chairman of the committee on credentials; General Garfield was made chairman of the committee on rules. The committee on permanent organization voted by thirty-one to nine to propose Mr. Hoar as president of the convention. At three o'clock the convention adjourned till the next day. On the second day the permanent organization of the convention was effected with the choice of Mr. Hoar as president and the election of vice-presidents and secretaries. A recess was then taken until five o'clock.

The evening was consumed in skirmishing, and the convention adjourned for the day without accomplishing any definite result.

On the third day, Senator Conkling moved a resolution pledging each delegate to support the nominee of the convention, whoever he might be. The resolution was adopted almost unanimously, a few delegates from West Virginia casting the only votes in the negative. Mr. Conkling then moved that these delegates who had voted "no" should be expelled. A very warm debate followed, in which the delegates voting "no" eloquently defended themselves as to their action and opinion. General Garfield, after speaking in warm terms of the character and service of the West Virginia delegates, closed by expressing the hope that Mr. Conkling would withdraw his resolution. After some hesitation, the motion was withdrawn and the matter was ended. The reading of the reports of the Committee on Rules and Credentials, and the admission of the anti-Grant contestants from Illinois, completed the work of

the day's session. In the evening there was a spirited discussion on the Alabama case, involving the right of district representation in the convention, which was upheld by a vote of four hundred and forty-nine against three hundred and six. This settled the unit-rule question, and was a decisive defeat for the Grant forces. In a speech by Mr. Storrs regarding Illinois contestants, the names of Grant and Blaine were alluded to, and were loudly cheered by their respective supporters. Senator Conkling led the cheers for Grant, and Colonel Ingersoll, waving a lady's shawl, was a conspicuous leader in cheering for Blaine, which lasted many minutes. A lady in company with Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, waved two flags and repeatedly shouted, "Hurrah for Blaine!" For half an hour this uproar continued and the enthusiasm of the Blaine people knew no bounds.

The fourth day of the convention found the delegates physically wearied out by the long continued strain of excitement. Having assembled, they decided the contested cases from Kansas, West Virginia and Utah in favor of the contestants. Following this was the calling up of the report of the Committee on Rules, which was read in connection with a minority report against the anti-unit rule. Delay was asked for by the minority of the committee, which was advocated by General Sharpe, who moved that the convention immediately proceed to the nomination of the candidate for President. This was voted down by a large majority, and the rules reported by the majority of the committee were adopted. The next thing in order was the adoption of the platform. The evening was taken up by the presentation of candidates. Mr. Joy, of Michigan, presented the name of James G. Blaine, seconded by Mr. Pixley, of California, and Mr. Frye, of Maine. Mr. E. F. Drake, of Minnesota, presented the name of Mr. Windom, of that State. The name of General Grant was presented in an impressive

manner by Senator Conkling, and seconded by Mr. Bradley, of Kentucky. General Garfield presented the name of Secretary Sherman, seconded by Mr. Winkler, of Wisconsin, and Mr. Elliott, of South Carolina. Mr. Edmunds, of Vermont, was nominated by Mr. Billings, and seconded by Mr. Sandford, of Massachusetts. Mr. E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, was nominated by Mr. Cassidy, of Wisconsin, and seconded by Mr. Brandagee, of Connecticut. The convention then adjourned to meet at ten o'clock Monday morning.

Vast crowds on Monday filled the Exposition Hall where the convention was held. On motion of Mr. Hale, of Maine, the convention proceeded to ballot for the candidate for President. Ten ballots were taken on this day without any decisive result, during all of which the Grant men stood firm, the vote ranging from 303 to 309. Blaine's friends also stood nobly by him, with votes ranging from 280 to 285. General Garfield's votes were small during the first of the balloting, but on the thirty-fourth ballot his vote was 17, supporters of Edmunds and Windom having gone over to him. The Blaine delegates finding it impossible to nominate their favorite, threw their votes for Garfield, as the only means of defeating Grant, and on the thirty-sixth ballot General Garfield was made the nominee of the Republican party for President in 1880. When the result was announced, a vast crowd sang the "Battle-Cry of Freedom," and the volume was augmented by the playing of a band and by the booming of cannon.

Chester A. Arthur was nominated for Vice-President, and on Tuesday, the 8th of June, the convention adjourned without day, after one of the most gigantic political struggles on record.

Though Mr. Blaine was the popular candidate, the combinations were such that he could not receive the nomination; yet he was the means of thwarting the third-term movement.

The following is the list of the thirty-six ballots which resulted in the nomination of General Garfield:

	BALLOTS.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Washburne.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Garfield.	Hayes.	Harrison.	McCrary.	Davis, Tex.	Hartraft.
Monday Afternoon, June 7.	1st	304	284	93	30	34	10	...	..	..	..	..	..
	2d	305	282	94	31	32	10	1	..	..	..	..	..
	3d	305	282	93	31	32	10	1	..	1	..	..	..
	4th	305	281	95	31	32	10	1	..	..	..	..	..
	5th	305	281	95	31	32	10	1	..	..	..	..	..
	6th	305	280	95	31	32	10	2	..	..	..	..	..
	7th	305	281	94	31	32	10	2	..	..	..	..	..
	8th	306	284	91	32	31	10	1	..	..	..	..	..
	9th	308	282	90	32	31	10	2	..	..	..	..	..
	10th	305	282	92	33	31	10	1	1	..	..	..	..
	11th	305	281	93	32	31	10	2	1	..	..	..	..
	12th	304	283	92	33	31	10	1	1	..	..	..	..
	13th	305	285	89	33	31	10	1	..	..	1	..	..
	14th	305	285	89	35	31	10	...	..	..	..	..	..
	15th	309	281	88	36	31	10	...	..	..	..	..	..
	16th	306	283	88	36	31	10	...	..	..	..	..	..
	17th	303	284	90	36	31	10	...	..	..	..	1	..
	18th	305	283	91	35	31	10	...	..	..	..	..	..
Monday Ev'g, June 7.	19th	305	279	96	32	31	10	1	..	..	..	..	1
	20th	308	276	93	35	31	10	1	..	..	..	..	1
	21st	305	276	96	35	31	10	1	..	..	..	..	1
	22d	305	275	97	35	31	10	1	..	..	..	..	1
	23d	304	275	97	36	31	10	2	..	..	..	..	..
	24th	305	279	93	35	31	10	2	..	..	..	..	..
	25th	302	281	94	35	31	10	2	..	..	..	..	..
	26th	303	280	93	36	31	10	2	..	..	..	..	..
	27th	306	277	93	36	31	10	2	..	..	..	..	..
	28th	307	279	91	35	31	10	2	..	..	..	..	..
Tuesday, June 8.	29th	305	278	116	35	12	7	2	..	..	..	..	..
	30th	306	279	120	33	11	4	2	..	..	..	..	..
	31st	308	276	118	37	11	3	1	..	..	..	..	..
	32d	309	270	117	44	11	3	1	..	..	..	..	..
	33d	309	276	110	44	11	4	1	..	..	..	..	..
	34th	312	275	107	30	11	4	17	..	..	..	..	..
	35th	313	257	99	23	11	3	50	..	..	..	..	..
	36th	306	42	3	5	..	..	399	..	..	..	..	..

The oratory displayed in nominating candidates was brilliant, enthusiastic and eloquent. Mr. Blaine's name was put forward by the Hon. James F. Joy, of Michigan, in a speech containing sound sense, business-like clearness, and a strong appeal in behalf of the candidate.

SPEECH OF JAMES F. JOY, NOMINATING JAMES G. BLAINE.

“GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I shall never cease to regret that circumstances have been such as to impose the duty upon myself to make the nomination of a candidate to this convention. I have been absent from the country for the past two months, and had but arrived home just before this convention. Since the convention has been in session I have been employed upon the floor all the time. If, therefore, words of mine are important for the candidate who shall be proposed, they will benefit him but little. I will, however, bring him before the convention in as brief a manner as possible. That it will be very brief will, I presume, satisfy the convention and the audience, because we are now all impatient for the voting. It was in 1862 I think, that a then young man, born in an old Eastern State, but resident in the State of Maine, entered the House of Representatives. It was at a time when the sky was lowering, when the horizon was filled with clouds indicating a tempest. It was just before the war. The tempest burst upon the country, and the war ensued, which raged for four long years. Fortunately for us, there were at the helm of the ship of state the right men, and it was manned with the right crew. After the whirlwind of war had raged for four years the elements of strength in one of the contending parties gave way, and peace at length settled down upon the country.

“Then ensued the contest for reconstruction, which occupied nearly three or four years more. During all that period of time, that young man always true, always brave, always eloquent, applied his talent in all the debates, and

in all the procedures which were necessary either to carry on the war, or to bring about reconstruction upon a proper basis; and during the period of these controversies, his reputation had been emerging, growing, towering, until at last, when, in 1868, reconstruction had been practically secured, his reputation was towering before the country, and one of the great names of the country had become spread abroad all over the land. It had become a household word; it was familiar in every corner; it was looked up to from every part of the country. That name was the Hon. James G. Blaine, the Senator from Maine.

“When the stormy period of Andrew Johnson’s time had passed away, or was passing away, and General Grant was nominated by the country for President of the United States, all eyes in the country turned to the Hon. James G. Blaine, who was called upon to canvass the country. He canvassed the country from Maine to the Mississippi and beyond. He made himself familiar with the great North and the great West. The people became familiar with him in the North and in the great West; and he had about him that wonderful power of attraction which half a century earlier was possessed in the most eminent degree also by another great man of this country, the great son of the great State of Kentucky, Henry Clay.

“On the second nomination of General Grant in 1872, he was called upon in the same way, and he traversed the land, exercising his power, his ability, and his eloquence in the cause of the country over the same extent of this northern border. He had become so well known, the people of the country had become so well acquainted with him, he had fastened them to him by attractions so great, that in the convention that was held at Cincinnati four years ago, he had become the leading candidate of the northern people for the Presidency of the United States. He was the favorite candidate of the State which I represent in this convention. Its delegates went to that con-

vention with a view of urging and securing, if it were possible, his nomination. He came within a few votes of success, when for some reason his column broke, and the result was another nomination which had not been before the country. You all know the disappointment, you all know perhaps the astonishment which was created in some sections of the country at that result. In the State which I have the honor to represent upon this floor, it was considered almost a calamity to the individual members of the Republican party of that State; they felt it almost as a personal blow. But while he might have been disappointed reasonably in the results, when the canvass came on, and when the fight was a close one, and when it was doubtful whether the Republicans would succeed in electing their candidate, although he had been repudiated at the convention, he buckled on his harness and entered the ranks; he traversed the country, and fought manfully, gloriously and vigorously, until the battle was won, though by a small majority. The result was, gentlemen, that he endeared himself tenfold more to the Republicans of this northwest than he had ever done before, and when this convention was called, the people of the State which I represent, and which had so earnestly advocated him before, determined again to place him before this convention. I am but executing their wish when I do so. Now, gentlemen, I will say, with regard to the State of Michigan, it is not a doubtful State. It is a State which stands by its banner all the time. It will not matter, so far as the work, the vigor and the energy which that State will put into the contest, whether he be nominated here or not; we stand by the flag whoever may be the standard bearer. With these remarks, gentlemen, longer than I intended, I have the honor to present to this convention as a candidate for the Presidential chair for the ensuing term, to be voted for by the people, the name of the Hon. James G. Blaine, of the State of Maine."

SPEECH OF MR. PIXLEY, SECONDING THE NOMINATION
OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

“MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION: I have been assigned to a most pleasurable duty. It has been accorded to me by the desire of my associates, and by the consent of the friends of Mr. Blaine, that I should have the honor to second his nomination in this convention for the office of President of the United States. All the delegates of the Territories of Washington, Idaho and Arizona, and the States of Oregon, Nevada and California, composing together the magnificent empire of the Pacific, a grander and prouder empire than which does not exist under the sun, unite with me in the pleasure of this opportunity to second the nomination of Mr. Blaine, and will supplement the compliment by casting for him the united vote of all the States and all the Territories composing this Pacific empire.

“Our delegation, though limited in number, represents an empire broad in territorial area, extending with Alaska from the eternal ice of the Arctic seas to the semi-tropical belt, where the apple and the pineapple grow side by side,—extending from the wave-washed sands of the golden sea to the rock-ribbed mountains that separate but do not divide us from you, our eastern friends—embracing the present worth of gold, and grain, and wine, and wool, and an incalculable wealth that shall yet astonish the world. It is a broad and splendid domain. Its western shore looks westward to eastern lands: its golden gates stand wide ajar to admit the commerce of the Orient, and to welcome the intercourse necessary to its enjoyment. It is the future home of your children—it is the inheritance of your sons—it is the rich dower of your daughters; and we think, and all our Republicans think, that the nomination of James G. Blaine will result in his becoming the

President of the United States; and because we think, and because the whole of the Republican party think, that as President he will help to guard this rich empire, and to preserve it as the home and inheritance and dower of all the children of their Christian commonwealth, Washington territory, Idaho, and Arizona, Oregon, Nevada and California have sent us a united delegation, to cast an unbroken vote for the distinguished statesman and Senator from Maine.

“In him we recognize the distinguished ability, the unflinching nerve, which is at all times demanded in the performance of public duties. The possession of an unstained name, which even partisan malice has been unable to blacken; the possession of a brain and heart that embraces in its magnetic sympathy all his countrymen who love their country, honor its institutions and obey its laws. He is gifted, eloquent and brave; he is patriotic, honest and true; he has been tried in long public service, and may be trusted. He will carry into his great office no personal nor party resentments; he will bring to the discharge of his official duties no local nor sectional prejudices; he is broad-minded, comprehensive and generous in the exercise of undaunted moral courage; will dare to defy the baser political elements, and delight to surround himself with the best and ablest men of the nation. He will call into the counsels of his administration the tried and honored and honest men of his party. He will exert to the fullest extent the powers and prerogatives of the presidential office, and secure to the humblest citizen the protection of the law. He will, in the performance of his executive duty, shirk no responsibility, nor seek to avoid any duty required of him by the Constitution and the law.

“His nomination will violate none of the time-honored traditions of the country; traditions that in their long-continued existence and force have become binding as the unwritten laws of the land; traditions that ought to be

more invulnerable than formulated codes, and as sacred as the written constitution of our fathers. His nomination is demanded by the majority of the delegates from the solid Republican North, and it ought to be conceded by the solid South, that has everything to receive and nothing to give, that in the coming contest has everything to gain and nothing except honor that it has not already lost. Give us this gentleman for a candidate and we of the ultimate west pledge to you the gallant service of the gallant band of Republican soldiers, that has now for these twenty years held and guarded the frontier outpost of your Republican army. We have never been surprised or found off of duty; we have never flinched a fight nor lost a presidential battle; we have never allowed a Democratic vote to be deposited in the electoral urn since we have been welcomed to the sisterhood of States. Give us this gentleman for a candidate, and we will go back to our homes with banners flying—with glad, proud hearts; our people will welcome and applaud us; our western sea shall sound its waving anthems across the continent to your eastern ocean; our pine-clad Sierras shall nod their tassels in graceful courtesy to the bending plumes of Maine, and we, Mr. President and gentlemen, will give twelve electoral votes to make James G. Blaine the next President of the United States.”

SPEECH OF WILLIAM P. FRYE, SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

“MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I saw once a storm at sea in the night time, and our staunch old ship battling for its life with the fury of the tempest—darkness everywhere; the wind shrieking and howling through the rigging; the huge waves beating upon the sides of that ship, and making her shiver from stem to stern. The lightnings were flashing; the thunders were rolling. There was danger everywhere. I saw at the helm

a calm, bold, courageous, immovable, commanding man. In the tempest, calm; in the commotion, quiet; in the dismay, hopeful. I saw him take that old ship and bring her into the harbor, into still waters, into safety. That man was a hero. I saw the good old ship, the State of Maine, within the last year, fighting her way through the same darkness, through the same perils, against the same waves, against the same dangers. She was freighted with all that is precious in the principles of our Republic; with the rights of American citizenship; with all that is guaranteed to the American citizen by our Constitution. The eyes of the whole nation were upon her; an intense anxiety filled every American heart, lest the grand old ship, the State of Maine, might go down beneath the waves forever, carrying her precious freight with her. But, sir, there was a man at the helm, calm, deliberate, commanding, sagacious; he made even the foolish men wise; courageous, he inspired the timid with courage; hopeful, he gave heart to the dismayed, and he brought that good old ship safely into the harbor, into safety; and there she floats to-day, brighter, purer, stronger, from her baptism of danger. That man, too, was a hero, and his name was James G. Blaine.

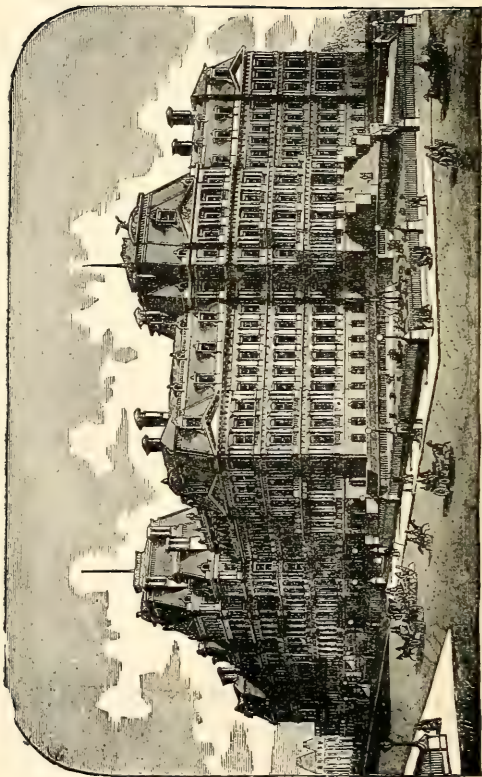
“Maine sends greetings to this magnificent convention. With the memory of her own salvation from impending peril fresh upon her, she says to you, representatives of fifty millions of American people, who have met here to counsel how the Republic shall be saved, she says to you, representatives of the people, take a man, a true man, a staunch man for your leader, who has just saved her, and who will bear you to safety and to certain victory.”

A LOOK BEYOND.

A sigh of relief went up from the hearts of myriads throughout the nation when the intelligence was spread abroad that Garfield had been nominated, and the risk of a

third-term experiment had been avoided. The followers of Mr. Blaine were disappointed, but they had the consolation of having been engaged in establishing most desirable and longed-for precedents, and of looking beyond the veil to a time when the twice-deferred choice would be taken up by the people and made the triumphant standard bearer, whose name would be talismanic and the herald of Republican victory.





DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, ARMY AND NAVY.

CHAPTER IX.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

GARFIELD'S INVITATION.

THE influence of Mr. Blaine was used for the election of the Republican candidate in 1880. In November following the election, General Garfield decided upon a visit to Washington. Mr. Blaine at that time was in Bangor, Me., and received a note from the President-elect appointing an interview in Washington about November 24th. Mr. Blaine reached the capital two days after this, and on the afternoon of the same day he called upon General Garfield at his private residence. For two hours these distinguished gentlemen were in consultation without interruption from any person. At this conference, General Garfield tendered the State Department to Mr. Blaine. In reply to this offer, the Senator said: "General, I am hardly prepared for this tender on your part. I do not know how to make answer. I would like some time for reflection and consultation. In the meantime I will advise you."

Upon this General Garfield urged Mr. Blaine to accept, but no binding answer was made at that time. Not long after this, Mr. Blaine had a consultation with his closest friends, and the weight of their testimony was that he should resign his position as Senator and become Secretary of State.

After this meeting with adherents, the fact that General Garfield had offered the Senator the leading place in his cabinet was communicated to one or two of Senator Blaine's confidential friends, and to them he said: "If

the sentiment of the country indorses the selection General Garfield has made, I will accept; otherwise not."

Early in the following month two newspapers made the announcement directly and absolutely that Senator Blaine had been invited by General Garfield to take the Department of State. This soon became an accepted fact. The expression of the newspapers was universal that the selection was a good one. Having noticed the opinion of the public, Senator Blaine wrote the following letter of acceptance:

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1880.

MY DEAR GARFIELD:—Your generous invitation to enter your cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration for more than three weeks. The thought had really never occurred to my mind until, at our late conference, you presented it with such cogent arguments in its favor, and with such warmth of personal friendship, in aid of your kind offer. I know an early reply is desirable, and I have waited only long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings and to make up my mind definitely and conclusively.

I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decision not for the honor of the promotion it gives me in the public service, but because I think I can be useful to the country and to the party, and useful to you as the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the government. I am influenced somewhat, perhaps, by the shower of letters I have received urging me to accept, written me in consequence of the mere unauthorized newspaper report that you had been pleased to offer me the place. While I have received these letters from all sections of the Union, I have been especially pleased, and even surprised, at the cordial and widely-extended feeling in my favor throughout New England, where I had expected to encounter local jealousy and, perhaps, a rival aspiration. In our new relation I shall give all I am, and all I can hope to be, freely and joyfully to your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and in act. I should be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes, in the present and in the future. Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all struggling its energies for re-election, and

yet compelling that result by the logic and by the imperious necessities of the situation. To that most desirable consummation I feel that, next to yourself, I can possibly contribute as much influence as any other one man. I say this not from egotism or vain-glory, but merely as a deduction from a plain analysis of the political forces which have been at work in the country for five years past, and which have been significantly shown in two great national conventions. I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather, for the time, merging mine with yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship.

I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambition, should never, for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength. It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter, for however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend. Always faithfully yours,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

This communication seems to have been written as a private letter to the President-elect, and not designed for publication, but containing a number of features characteristic of Mr. Blaine as showing the warmth of his friendship and his devotion to the President, it was given to the press without reservation.

The cabinet, headed by Secretary Blaine, was promptly confirmed by the Senate. It was said of him at the time that he was in one sense a truly national character. He was an eastern man with a western temperament. It was confidently expected that in the discharge of his official duties he would first consider the interests of his own country, and afterwards the small amenities which would play so important a part in our diplomacy. Joining to an unusually quick and vigilant mind an extensive knowledge of human nature; courteous and deferential as to manner,

and of a strong will, he united most happily the characteristics that the head of the foreign office should possess. His extended information rendered him a most competent advisor of the President.

EXTRA SESSION OF THE SENATE.

The necessity for an extra session of the Senate was made known by President Hayes in a proclamation preceding the close of his term of service. In accordance with this call the Senate met in extra session on the 4th of March, 1881. The parties were so evenly divided that business involving political questions could not be rapidly transacted. This evenness of the parties resulted in a dead-lock that was not broken without weeks of bitter personal discussion. That which clogged the work of the Senate was the question of organization. The Republicans desired officers chosen from their own party, and the Democrats wished to retain the old officers who were members of their party. Senator Davis, of Illinois, was classed as an Independent, and when he voted with the Republicans they were unable to carry their measures by the casting-vote of the Vice-President, their presiding officer, and when Mr. Davis voted with the Democrats the vote of the Vice-President was of no avail to the Republicans. On the question of organization the views of Mr. Davis accorded with those of the Democrats. The dead-lock was not broken until a sufficient number of recently chosen Republicans entered the Senate to overcome the slight advantage of the Democrats.

During this session much was said by the Senate and the press on Senatorial courtesy, a privilege of the Senate which, according to custom, leaves to the Senators of the State the right to say who should be appointed from their respective States, provided the Senators are of the same party as the President. One wing of the Republican party, headed by Senator Conkling, put great stress upon this cus-

tom, while the other wing supporting the government set it at naught. President Garfield sent in the names of ten persons, whom he nominated for important positions in New York. This had been done at the suggestion of Senator Conkling, who had been invited by the President to name his friends. While this was satisfactory to the Senator and his adherents, it called forth loud protests from those who did not believe that so many nominees should be selected from the friends of Mr. Conkling. For the Collector of Customs of New York no nomination was at first made, General Edwin H. Merritt being the incumbent. To allay the dissatisfaction occasioned by the five nominations and to quiet the rapidly developing spirit of faction in New York between the Grant and the anti-Grant partisans, President Garfield, on the 23d of March, sent in the name of Judge Wm. H. Robertson for the New York Collectorship. The Judge had opposed the rule at Chicago and disavowed the instructions of the New York Convention to vote for General Grant and headed the Blaine delegates from that State on the withdrawal of the latter, using his influence for the nomination of General Garfield. He was not, therefore, in political accord with Senator Conkling. The latter now endeavored to secure the confirmation of his friends and defeat that of the Judge, who was his political enemy. This effort caused the President to withdraw the names that had been suggested by the Senate, thus leaving for confirmation for the time being the name of Judge Robertson alone. Against this withdrawal the New York Senator remonstrated in a letter to the Executive. The President did not recede from his position, whereupon Senator Conkling endeavored to defeat the nomination of Robertson under the plea of the privilege of the Senate as to "Senatorial courtesy." There were arrayed against him the influence of Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, and a sufficient number of Senators to counteract the influence of Conkling. Seeing that the con-

firmation of the Judge could not be prevented, Senators Conkling and Platt sent in their resignations, which were read to the Senate. These were prepared without consultation with their intimate friends, and created great excitement throughout the country. Governor Cornell, of New York, to whom the resignations were sent, used his influence in vain to have them reconsidered and withdrawn. After this act President Garfield returned to the Senate the list of appointees that he had withdrawn, most of whom, under the condition of affairs, declined the nomination.

President Garfield, during all this contest, was supported by the popular sentiment of the Republican party all over the country, and subsequent events vindicated the wisdom of his position. Senator Blaine adhered to the President throughout these difficulties, and was believed by Senator Conkling to be the chief instigator of what the President had done.

THE IMMORTAL EIGHTY DAYS.

On the second of July, 1881, President Garfield, in company with Secretary Blaine, left the Executive Mansion at nine a.m., and proceeded to the depot of the Baltimore and Potomac Railway, where the President designed to take a special train to visit, in New England, the college from which he had graduated. Having entered the main waiting-room, walking arm-in-arm with the Secretary, Charles J. Guiteau, a persistent applicant for office, advanced toward the President and fired at him two shots, one of which was harmless, but the other entered the body of the President about four inches to the right of the spinal column, striking the tenth and eleventh ribs. The wounded President sank to the floor, and was conveyed at once to a room where he could receive attention. Doctor Bliss made an effort to find the ball, but was not successful. The system of the President was severely shocked, and it was supposed death would soon ensue. He was removed to the Executive Mansion two

hours after the shooting. But little hope of recovery was entertained until on July 4th a favorable turn was discovered, and on the following morning there was a vague hope that the result would be favorable. Improvement continued until the seventh of July, when Dr. Bliss became very confident of the ultimate triumph over the disease. From this on until the sixteenth, there was truly an improvement, and the country began to entertain hopes that the President would recover. On the ninth he wrote his name for the first time, and on the next day he signed an important extradition paper. On the eleventh he wrote a letter to his aged mother at Mentor, and used words of a hopeful tendency. Hopes and fears alternated from day to day until on the sixth of September, when he was removed to Elberon in a car prepared for the purpose. After being placed in the cottage at Elberon, the country watched with feverish excitement the news of the patient's condition, which was first for the better and then for the worse. On Tuesday, the thirteenth of September, the improvement was such that the patient was placed in a chair at the window, where he could watch the waters of the ocean. Though from this time until the closing moments, there were frequent hopes of recovery, the suffering form was sinking day by day. President Garfield died on September 19, 1881, at ten o'clock and thirty-five minutes, and the Nation mourned his loss by a sympathy unparalleled, and only approximated by that which was occasioned by the assassination of President Lincoln.

At midnight on the nineteenth the cabinet at Long Branch telegraphed Vice-President Arthur to take promptly the oath of office. This he did before a local Judge in New York. He then went to Washington and took the oath of office in the marble room in the Capitol, in the presence of the members of the cabinet, the Justices of the Supreme Court and a few Senators and members of

the House of Representatives. The President then read from manuscript a brief inaugural address. On the same day the cabinet, through Secretary Blaine, tendered their resignations, but President Arthur said he did not desire to accept them, and would esteem it a personal favor if the cabinet would continue in the discharge of their duties. The emergency being great, the cabinet manifested a desire to aid the President in the arrangement of public duties until he should see fit to form a cabinet of his own selection.

During the immortal eighty days of the President's sickness Secretary Blaine watched the suffering patient with a tenderness and care that attracted the attention of the world. The country still remembers vividly the devotion with which he watched at the bedside, and the calm dignity with which during these long weeks of suspense he discharged the painful duties of his position, the admirable precision of the bulletins which he issued to the press, and, through Minister Lowell, to the Foreign Legations, and the perfection of the replies which he dictated to official expressions of sympathy at home and abroad. It is the universal testimony of press and people that during the weary weeks which intervened between the President's injury and death, Mr. Blaine's every action and constant demeanor were absolutely faultless. The disabilities of the President while prostrated by sickness were such that he could not attend to the duties of the great station to which he was elected, and during the sad hours of his life the Vice-President did not interfere in any way regarding the duties which should be performed. Consequently Secretary Blaine was virtually the acting President of the United States during these trying days of mental anxiety and physical toil.

HOPES OF THE NATION.

A feeling of satisfaction and contentment pervaded the

Nation after the auspicious and imposing inauguration of President Garfield and the appointment of one of the country's favorites as a chief executive adviser. Much was expected of the efforts from Secretary Blaine. Many interests of the United States were at stake, and many high hopes were excited. Numerous suggestions were made from various sources, and the newspapers vied with one another in calling attention to the great opportunities before him. As an evidence of the feeling of the enterprising portion of the Nation, the following extract is given:

“Mr. Blaine has an opportunity for accomplishing a great American international commercial system, without precedent in its magnitude and incomparable in its benefits.

“On the north of the present limits of the United States are the British provinces, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, most of which are included in the Dominion of Canada. To the south of us lies unfortunate, poor and feeble Mexico; beyond this, to the Isthmus, the smaller States included in the Central American Group; southeast of us lie the Spanish West Indian Islands, fertile and productive, and to which the people of this country pay large tribute. These several States, from Hudson's Bay to the Isthmus of Panama, naturally form what may be called an exclusively American system, not merely political, but in the matter of natural products and reciprocal commercial interests. They have varied climates and productions, speak various languages, have different habits, customs, forms of government and religions; but they have an identity of interests, the same absence of serious European alliances, the strongest inducements for the closest commercial relations, and have essentially the common feeling that as against the rest of the world they should be a unit.

“No one not a madman proposes that these States should be consolidated, or that the United States should annex them, either by force, negotiation, or otherwise. Whatever extension of territory to the United States may take

place in the future must take place under the healthy fruition of time and by the free choice of people who can not be kept separate any longer.

“Mr. Blaine’s opportunity is not in the line of an annexationist, but in the more useful work of including the whole continent north of Mexico under one system of commercial regulation, whereby one and the same tariff law, the same scale of duties and imports, the same custom-house rules, shall prevail everywhere alike in the United States and in the Dominion provinces, and at the same time a liberal reciprocity of trade with Mexico, Central America and the West Indies.

“The United States exhibit the grand system of no less than thirty-eight States, containing over 50,000,000 people, with a great inter-state trade, and with all their varied interests, climates, productions and wants, harmoniously exchanging commodities under one common tariff and one common system of commerce. If this be possible and successful under thirty-eight States, why not under forty-eight States? The productions of Maine or New Brunswick, or Michigan and Ontario differ no more than those of Iowa and Illinois, or Kentucky and Ohio. The extension of this great inter-state system to Canada would be no more difficult than was its extension to Texas and California a comparatively short time since. Twenty years ago the man would have been pronounced insane who had proposed that a Canadian postal-stamp should carry a letter through the mails of the United States; now the stamp of any of the civilized governments of the world will carry a letter free of other charge to the uttermost limits of the earth. To propose now to carry into execution an extension of the American inter-state commerce to the British possessions at the north, and a liberal reciprocity treaty with Mexico and the Central American States, is no more visionary and is decidedly more practicable than was the now world-wide Postal Union a few years ago.

More than twenty-five years ago, the present State of Texas was forcibly wrenched from Mexico by a revolution conducted entirely by Americans who had settled there. Subsequently the United States made Texas a part of the Union, and then waged war on Mexico; the result of the war was the spoliation of Mexico of immense portions of her remaining territory. That unfortunate country, torn by domestic dissensions, sold and betrayed by popular leaders, with her industries paralyzed by chronic civil war, has always entertained strong resentment toward this country, and cherished deep distrust of our people. The once favored scheme for the conquest of Mexico, that room might be made for the extension of slavery, perished with slavery. No one now desires to conquer a foot of Mexican soil. The conquest that is sought is in the line of peaceful commerce. American capital is now building railroads into Mexico, which railroads are to penetrate that country just as they do in American States, reaching forward to every locality, every port, and every productive center in the land, seeking a market in which to sell and in which to buy. Two lines of railway are now under way—one, crossing the boundary of El Paso and moving down to the Pacific coast, the other extending through Texas, and pushing through the more densely populated States direct to the City of Mexico.

“For what is this money to be expended? To establish trade and commerce? Let us see how and on what terms we can trade with Mexico. At present, under the tariff of Mexico, a duty will be levied on all American goods crossing the boundary, and also a duty to the State the train first enters. As the train bearing the goods reaches the boundary of the next State, another tax is collected, and so on. Every time the goods are moved from one State over the line of another State a new duty is collected. By the time the goods reach to any extent into the country, the National, the State, and even the municipi-

pal tariffs have so swollen the cost that there are but few persons in Mexico able to purchase them. So, when Mexico has anything to sell, each State and each municipality, as well as the National government, levies and collects an export duty on all that goes out, and by the time Mexican goods would reach the American boundary, their cost would become too great to admit of any one buying them here. To talk of expending several hundred millions of American money to build railroads through Mexico to establish a trade between this and that country so long as Mexico has a prohibitory tariff system such as we have mentioned, is out of the question.

“The time for a continental system of exchanges is eminently propitious, and if Mr. Blaine will accomplish a reformation by the extension north and south of an international arrangement of duties, uniform and common to this and to all adjoining countries, he will accomplish for himself imperishable credit, and have gained for his country and for the people of the neighboring States benefits which will be enduring. He will practically establish a perpetual peace on this continent. He will bind these sixty or more millions of people in the strong links of commercial unity; he will cement the feeling of Americanism, and, while necessarily producing no change or disturbance in their political governments, he will practically unite them all, commercially, into that ‘ocean-bound republic’ which was once supposed could only be accomplished by the force of arms.”

It is probable that Mr. Blaine's views did not accord exactly with the thoughts of the preceding, but that he designed to establish perpetual peace on this continent is fully shown by this invitation to the countries of America to meet in peace congress at Washington.

It seemed that every act of Secretary Blaine tended to confirm the hopes of his friends. His just appreciation of the serious work that was before him was manifested in his

appointment of Judge C. Bancroft Davis, of the Court of Claims, to be Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Davis possessed diplomatic experience in an eminent degree. He served as Assistant Secretary under Mr. Fish and as Agent of the United States before the famous Geneva Commission. In both of these positions he acquitted himself with marked ability, and it has been said that the gaining of the American case at Geneva was largely due to his efforts. The public were still further encouraged in its anticipations when, after a brief incumbency of less than four months, it was found that Mr. Blaine had been transacting business with a vigor and success unusual to those who had occupied his position. The public had been surprised with the appearance of a series of able communications to foreign governments concerning certain parts of American commerce; they had been informed of the award to our government of seventy-five thousand dollars on account of the Fortune Bay outrages; they had heard of the prompt enforcement of the rights of American citizens in the Bussi case before the Spanish Mixed-Claims Commission, resulting in the offer of the Spanish government to compromise Bussi's claim; and they had been told of the agent recently dispatched to Ireland to look after adopted American citizens in that down-trodden country. All these successful and vigorous efforts were rapidly gaining for him a reputation as a diplomatist characteristic of his success in other departments of statesmanship.

NEUTRALITY OF THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

The uniting of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by means of a ship canal is an idea almost as old as the discovery of America. Cortez made mention of an inter-oceanic ship canal in some of his reports to the Spanish government, and that power made it an offense punishable by death for any Spaniard to give the world any information on the subject.

After the Central American republics became independent of Spanish domination, many efforts were made by different countries to select a proper route by which a canal might be constructed. About the middle of the nineteenth century, the United States took much interest in this great enterprise. After the war of the Rebellion, President Grant became much interested, and appointed a commission which should take charge of all surveys made in the interest of the canal. Several important lines were surveyed and reports made thereon to the government of the United States. All of these reports united in declaring any canal constructed across the Isthmus must be by the aid of locks. During the administration of President Hayes, a conference of the engineers of the world was called to meet in Paris, Count de Lesseps being the one under whose instructions and wishes the engineers were called together. This convention, against the advice of American engineers, decided that a tide-water canal at Panama was possible, and it was thought by the French people that such a vote, believed in by such a man as Count de Lesseps, was sufficient reason for large investments in the enterprise. Accordingly many millions of dollars were raised, and DeLesseps heading the enterprise, a canal at Panama was begun about the time General Garfield was inaugurated.

The United States of Colombia through whose territory the canal is designed to pass, made a proposition that certain European powers should unite in guaranteeing the neutrality of this canal. The idea of neutrality under European dictation was contrary to the Monroe doctrine and to the spirit of American diplomacy, and was something that the government could not allow nor the American people afford. President Hayes and various Executives preceding his time, as far back as Monroe, had enunciated the American idea of the supremacy of the United States in the Western Hemisphere. That the United States

might not be placed in an improper position, Secretary Blaine wrote to the powers of the world, through Minister Lowell, the following able document:

MR. BLAINE TO MR. LOWELL.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, June 24, 1881. }

Sir: It has fallen under the observation of the President, through the current statements of the European press and other usual channels of communication, that the great powers of Europe may possibly be considering the subject of jointly guaranteeing the neutrality of the interoceanic canal now projected across the Isthmus of Panama.

The United States recognizes a proper guarantee of neutrality as essential to the construction and successful operation of any highway across the Isthmus of Panama, and in the last generation every step was taken by this government that is deemed requisite in the premises. The necessity was foreseen and abundantly provided for, long in advance of any possible call for the actual exercise of power.

In 1846 a memorable and important treaty was negotiated and signed between the United States of America and the Republic of New Granada, now the United States of Colombia. By the thirty-fifth article of that treaty, in exchange for certain concessions made to the United States, we guaranteed "positively and efficaciously" the perfect neutrality of the isthmus and of any interoceanic communications that might be constructed upon or over it for the maintenance of free transit from sea to sea; and we also guaranteed the rights of sovereignty and property of the United States of Colombia over the territory of the isthmus as included within the borders of the State of Panama.

In the judgment of the President this guarantee, given by the United States of America, does not require reinforcement, or accession, or assent from any other power. In more than one instance this government has been called upon to vindicate the neutrality thus guaranteed, and there is no contingency now foreseen or apprehended in which such vindication would not be within the power of this nation.

There has never been the slightest doubt on the part of the United States as to the purpose or extent of the obligation then assumed, by which it became surety alike for the free transit of the world's commerce over whatever land-way or water-way might be opened from sea to sea, and for the protection of the territorial rights of Colombia from aggression or interference of any kind. Nor has there ever

been room to question the full extent of the advantages and benefits, naturally due to its geographical position and political relations on the western continent, which the United States obtained from the owner of the isthmian territory in exchange for that far-reaching and responsible guarantee.

If the foreshadowed action of the European powers should assume tangible shape, it would be well for you to bring to the notice of Lord Granville the provisions of the treaty of 1846, and especially of its thirty-fifth article, and to intimate to him that any movement in the sense of supplementing the guarantee contained therein would necessarily be regarded by this government as an uncalled-for intrusion into a field where the local and general interests of the United States of America must be considered before those of any other power save those of the United States of Colombia alone, which has already derived and will continue to derive such eminent advantages from the guarantee of this government.

The President deems it due to frankness to be still more explicit on this subject, and to elucidate the views of the United States government with somewhat of detail to the end that no uncertainty shall subsist as to the integrity of our motives or the distinctness of our aims.

It is not the wish or the purpose of the United States to interfere with any commercial enterprise in which the citizens or subjects of any foreign power may see fit to embark under a lawful privilege. The fact of the stock and franchises of the Panama canal or the Panama railway being owned in Europe, either in whole or principally, is no more a subject of complaint on the part of the United States than is the circumstance that the stock of many of its own great lines of railway is largely held abroad. Such ownership, with its attendant rights, is in the United States amply secured by the laws of the land, and on the Isthmus is doubly secured by the local laws of Colombia, under the superior guarantee of the United States.

Nor, in time of peace, does the United States seek to have any exclusive privileges accorded to American ships in respect to precedence or tolls through an interoceanic canal any more than it has sought like privileges for American goods in transit over the Panama railway, under the exclusive control of an American corporation. The extent of the privileges of American citizens and ships is measurable under the treaty of 1846 by those of Colombian citizens and ships. It would be our earnest desire and expectation to see the world's peaceful commerce enjoy the same just, liberal and rational treatment.

It is as regards the political control of such a canal, as distinguished from its merely administrative or commercial regulation, that the President feels called upon to speak with directness and with emphasis. During any war to which the United States of America or the United States of Colombia might be a party, the passage of armed vessels of a hostile nation through the canal at Panama would be no more admissible than would the passage of the armed forces of a hostile nation over the railway lines joining the Atlantic and Pacific shores of the United States or of Colombia. And the United States of America will insist upon her right to take all needful precautions against the possibility of the Isthmus transit being in any event used offensively against her interests upon the land or upon the sea.

The two republics between which the guarantee of neutrality and possession exists have analogous conditions with respect to their territorial extension. Both have a long line of coast on either ocean to protect as well as to improve. The possessions of the United States upon the Pacific coast are imperial in extent and of extraordinary growth. Even at their present stage of development they would supply the larger part of the traffic which would seek the advantages of the canal. The States of California and Oregon, and the Territory of Washington, larger in area than England and France, produce for export more than a ton of wheat for each inhabitant, and the entire freights demanding water transportation eastward, already enormous, are augmenting each year with an accelerating ratio. While the population and products of the Pacific slope are thus increasing upon a vast scale, the railway system connecting the Gulf of Mexico with the interior and with the great lakes is being rapidly extended, thus affording additional facilities for enlarging the commerce that must seek the coast line to the Pacific, of which the projected canal at Panama will form a part and be as truly a channel of communication between the Eastern and far Western States as our own transcontinental railways. It is the perception of this domestic function of the long-sought water-way between the two seas that border the republic which has caused the project to be regarded as of vital importance by this government. The history of the enterprise is marked from the outset by the numerous expeditions which have, from time to time, been sent out by the United States, at large expense, to explore the various routes, and thus facilitate the work when the time should be ripe and the vast capital be forthcoming for the undertaking.

If the proposed canal were a channel of communication near to the countries of the Old World, and employed wholly, or almost

wholly, by their commerce, it might very properly be urged that the influence of the European powers should be commensurate with their interests. With the exercise of such influence the United States could find no fault, especially if assured of equal participation in the peaceable enjoyment of the commercial facilities so afforded. The case, however, is here reversed, and an agreement between the European States to jointly guarantee the neutrality and, in effect, control the political character of a highway of commerce remote from them and near to us, forming substantially a part of our coast-line and promising to become the chief means of transportation between our Atlantic and Pacific States, would be viewed by this government with the gravest concern.

The policy of the United States is one of peace and friendly intercourse with every government and people. This disposition is frankly avowed and is, moreover, abundantly shown in the fact that our armaments by land and sea are kept within such limits as to afford no ground for distrust or suspicion of menace to other nations. The guarantee entered into by this government in 1846 was manifestly in the interest of peace, and the necessity imposed by circumstances upon the United States of America to watch over a highway between its two coasts was so imperative that the resultant guarantee was the simplest justice to the chief interests concerned. Any attempt to supersede that guarantee by an agreement between European powers which maintain vast armies and patrol the sea with immense fleets, and whose interest in the canal and its operation can never be so vital and supreme as ours, would partake of the nature of an alliance against the United States and would be regarded by this government as an indication of unfriendly feeling. It would be but an inadequate response to the good-will we bear them and to our cheerful and constant recognition of their own rights of domestic policy, as well as those resulting from proximity or springing from neighborly interest.

The great European powers have repeatedly united in agreements such as guarantees of neutrality touching the political condition of States like Luxembourg, Belgium, Switzerland and parts of the Orient, where the localities were adjacent or where the interests involved concerned them nearly and deeply. Recognizing these facts, the United States has never offered to take part in such agreements or to make any agreements supplementary to them.

While thus observing the strictest neutrality with respect to complications abroad, it is the long-settled conviction of this government that any extension to our shores of the political system by which

the great powers have controlled and determined events in Europe would be attended with danger to the peace and welfare of this nation.

While the government of the United States has no intention of initiating any discussion upon this subject, it is proper that you should be prepared, in case of concerted action or conference, or exchange of opinions thereon, between the great powers of Europe, to communicate to the government to which you are accredited the views of the President as frankly and as fully as they are herein set forth. And at suitable times in your personal and friendly intercourse with your colleagues of the diplomatic body at London, you may find it proper to give discreet expression to the policy and motives of your government in the premises.

You will be careful, in any conversations you may have, not to represent the position of the United States as the development of a new policy or the inauguration of any advanced, aggressive steps to be taken by this government. It is nothing more than the pronounced adherence of the United States to principles long since enunciated by the highest authority of the government, and now, in the judgment of the President, firmly inwoven as an integral and important part of our national policy.

In his address upon taking the oath of office the President distinctly proclaimed the position which the government of the United States would hold upon this question, and if the European cabinets have failed to observe or give due heed to the declarations then made, it may be well for you on some proper occasion to call the attention of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the language used by the President. I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Sent *mutatis mutandis* to United States Ministers in Europe.

The publication of this document elicited much comment in the United States, and especially in Great Britain. England declared that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1846, was an insurmountable barrier to the position taken by Mr. Blaine in his remarkable letter to the powers. Mr. Blaine did not at first reply to the position taken by Great Britain in opposition to his letter to Minister Lowell, but after President Arthur had become chief executive, and the people were getting composed after the great excitement of Garfield's assassination, the Secretary wrote a supple-

mentary letter to Minister Lowell, wherein he shows that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty must not be a hindrance to the United States in maintaining her position regarding her supremacy over the Isthmian Canal. The text of the supplementary letter is as follows:

MR. BLAINE TO MR. LOWELL.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, November 19, 1881. }

Sir: In pursuance of the premises laid down in my circular note of June 24th of this year, touching the determination of this government with respect to the guarantee of neutrality for the Interoceanic canal at Panama, it becomes my duty to call your attention to the convention of April 19, 1850, between Great Britain and the United States, commonly known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

According to the articles of that convention, the high contracting parties, in referring to an Interoceanic canal, through Nicaragua, agreed—

“That neither the one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over said ship canal, and that neither will ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same or in the vicinity thereof.”

In a concluding paragraph, the high contracting parties agreed—

“To extend their protection by treaty stipulations to any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway across the isthmus * * * which are now proposed to be established by way of Tehuantepec or Panama.”

This convention was made more than thirty years ago, under exceptional and extraordinary conditions which have long since ceased to exist—conditions which at best were temporary in their nature and which can never be reproduced. The remarkable development of the United States on the Pacific coast since that time has created new duties for this government, and devolved new responsibilities upon it, the full and complete discharge of which requires, in the judgment of the President, some essential modifications in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The interests of Her Majesty's government involved in this question, in so far as they may be properly judged by the observation of a friendly power, are so inconsiderable in comparison with those of the United States that the President hopes a readjustment of the terms of the treaty may be reached in a spirit of amity and concord.

The respect due to Her Majesty's government demands that the objections to the perpetuity of the convention of 1850, as it now exists, should be stated with directness and with entire frankness; and among the most salient and palpable of these is the fact that the operation of the treaty practically concedes to Great Britain the control of whatever canal may be constructed. The insular position of the home government, with its extended colonial possessions, requires the British Empire to maintain a vast naval establishment, which in our continental solidity we do not need, and in time of peace shall never create. If the United States binds itself not to fortify on land, it concedes that Great Britain, in the possible case of a struggle for the control of the canal, shall at the outset have an advantage which would prove decisive, and which could not be reversed, except by the expenditure of treasure and force. The presumptive intention of the treaty was to place the two powers on a plane of perfect equality with respect to the canal, but in practice, as I have indicated, this would prove utterly delusive, and would instead surrender it, if not in form, yet in effect, to the control of Great Britain.

The treaty binds the United States not to use its military force in any precautionary measure, while it leaves the naval power of Great Britain perfectly free and unrestrained—ready at any moment of need to seize both ends of the canal and render its military occupation on land a matter entirely within the discretion of Her Majesty's government. The military power of the United States, as shown by the recent civil war, is without limit, and in any conflict on the American continent altogether irresistible. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty commands this government not to use a single regiment of troops to protect its interests in connection with the Interoceanic canal, but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the British navy. If no American soldier is to be quartered on the isthmus to protect the rights of his country in the Interoceanic canal, surely, by the fair logic of neutrality, no war vessel of Great Britain should be permitted to appear in the waters that control either entrance to the canal.

A more comprehensive objection to the treaty is urged by this government. Its provisions embody a misconception of the relative positions of Great Britain and the United States with respect to the interests of each government in questions pertaining to this continent. The government of the United States has no occasion to disavow an aggressive disposition. Its entire policy establishes its pacific character, and among its chief aims is to cultivate the most friendly and intimate relations with its neighbors, both independent and colonial.

At the same time, this government, with respect to European States, will not consent to perpetuate any treaty that impeaches our rightful and long-established claim to priority on the American continent.

The United States seeks only to use for the defense of its own interests the same forecast and prevision which Her Majesty's government so energetically employs in defense of the interests of the British Empire. To guard her eastern possessions, to secure the most rapid transit for troops and munitions of war, and to prevent any other nation from having equal facilities in the same direction, Great Britain holds and fortifies all the strategic points that control the route to India. At Gibraltar, at Malta, at Cyprus, her fortifications give her the mastery of the Mediterranean. She holds a controlling interest in the Suez canal, and by her fortifications at Aden and on the island of Perim she excludes all other powers from the waters of the Red Sea, and renders it *mare clausum*. It would, in the judgment of the President, be no more unreasonable for the United States to demand a share in these fortifications, or to demand their absolute neutralization, than for England to make the same demand in perpetuity from the United States with respect to the transit across the American continent. The possessions which Great Britain thus carefully guards in the East, are not of more importance to her than is the Pacific slope, with its present development and assured growth to the Government of the United States.

The States and Territories appurtenant to the Pacific Ocean, and dependent upon it for commercial outlet, and hence directly interested in the canal, comprise an area of nearly eight hundred thousand square miles—larger in extent than the German Empire and the four Latin countries of Europe combined. This vast region is but fairly beginning its prosperous development. Six thousand miles of railway are already constructed within its limits, and it is a moderate calculation to say that within the current decade the number of miles will, at least, be doubled. In the near future the money value of its surplus for export will be as large as that of British India, and perhaps larger. Nor must it be forgotten that India is but a distant colony of Great Britain, while the region on the Pacific is an integral portion of our National Union, and is of the very form and body of our State. The inhabitants of India are alien from England in race, language, and religion. The citizens of California, Oregon, and Nevada, with the adjacent Territories, are of our own blood and kindred—bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.

Great Britain appreciates the advantage and perhaps the necessity of maintaining at the cost of large military and naval establishments

the interior and nearest route to India, while any nation with hostile intent is compelled to take the longer route and travel many thousand additional miles through dangerous seas. It is hardly conceivable that the same great power which considers herself justified in taking these precautions for the safety of a remote colony on another continent should object to the United States adopting similar but far less demonstrative measures for the protection of the distant shores of her own domain, for the drawing together of the extremes of the Union in still closer bonds of interest and sympathy, and for holding in the quiet determination of an honorable self-defense the absolute control of the great water-way which shall unite the two oceans, and which the United States will always insist upon treating as part of her coast-line.

If a hostile movement should at any time be made against the Pacific coast, threatening danger to its people and destruction to its property, the Government of the United States would feel that it had been unfaithful to its duty and neglectful toward its own citizens if it permitted itself to be bound by a treaty which gave the same right through the canal to a war-ship bent on an errand of destruction that is reserved to its own navy sailing for the defense of our coast and the protection of the lives of our people. And as England insists by the might of her power that her enemies in war shall strike her Indian possessions only by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, so the Government of the United States will equally insist that the interior, more speedy, and safer route of the canal shall be reserved for ourselves, while our enemies, if we shall ever be so unfortunate as to have any, shall be remanded to the voyage around Cape Horn.

A consideration of controlling influence in this question is the well-settled conviction on the part of this government that only by the United States exercising supervision can the Isthmus canals be definitely and at all times secured against the interference and obstruction incident to war. A mere agreement of neutrality on paper between the great powers of Europe might prove ineffectual to preserve the canal in time of hostilities. The first sound of a cannon in a general European war would, in all probability, annul the treaty of neutrality, and the strategic position of the canal, commanding both oceans might be held by the first naval power that could seize it. If this should be done, the United States would suffer such grave inconvenience and loss in her domestic commerce as would enforce the duty of a defensive and protective war on her part, for the mere purpose of gaining that control which, in advance, she insists is due to her position and demanded by her necessities.

I am not arguing or assuming that a general war, or any war at all, is imminent in Europe. But it must not be forgotten that within the past twenty-five years all the great powers of Europe have been engaged in war—most of them more than once. In only a single instance in the past hundred years has the United States exchanged a hostile shot with any European power. It is in the highest degree improbable that for a hundred years to come even that experience will be repeated.

It consequently becomes evident that the one conclusive mode of preserving any Isthmus canal from the possible distraction and destruction of war, is to place it under the control of that government least likely to be engaged in war, and able in any and in every event to enforce the guardianship which she will assume. For self-protection to her own interest, therefore, the United States in the first instance asserts her right to control the Isthmus transit; and, secondly, she offers by such control that absolute neutralization of the canal as respects European powers, which can in no other way be certainly attained and lastingly assured.

Another consideration forcibly suggests the necessity of modifying the convention under discussion. At the time it was concluded, Great Britain and the United States were the only nations prominent in the commerce of Central and South America. Since that time other leading nations have greatly enlarged their commercial connections with that country, and are to-day contending for supremacy in the trade of those shores; within the past four years, indeed, the number of French and German vessels landing on the two coasts of Central America, far exceeds the number of British vessels.

While, therefore, Great Britain and the United States may agree to do nothing, and according to the present convention each remains bound to the other in common helplessness, a third power, or a fourth, or a combination of many, may step in and give direction to the project which the Clayton-Bulwer treaty assumed to be under the sole control of the two English-speaking nations. Indeed, so far as the canal scheme now projected at Panama finds a national sponsor or patron, it is in the Republic of France, and the non-intervention enjoined upon this country by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, if applied to that canal, would paralyze the arm of the United States in any attempt to assert the plain rights and privileges which this government acquired through a solemn treaty with the Republic of Colombia, anterior to the Clayton-Bulwer convention. The modification of the treaty of 1850, now sought, is not only to free the United States from unequal and inequitable obligations to Great Britain, but also to

empower this government to treat with all other nations seeking a foothold on the Isthmus, on the same basis of impartial justice and independence.

One of the motives that originally induced this government to assent to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, not distinctly expressed in the instrument, but inferable from every line of it, was the expected aid of British capital in the construction of the Nicaraguan canal. That expectation has not been realized, and the changed condition of this country since 1850 has diminished, if it has not entirely removed from consideration, any advantage to be derived from that source.

Whenever, in the judgment of the United States Government, the times shall be auspicious and the conditions favorable for the construction of the Nicaraguan canal, no aid will be needed outside of the resources of our own government and people; and while foreign capital will always be welcomed and never repelled, it cannot henceforth enter as an essential factor in the determination of this problem.

It is earnestly hoped by the President that the considerations now presented will have due weight and influence with Her Majesty's Government, and that the modifications of the treaty desired by the United States will be conceded in the same friendly spirit in which they are asked. The following is a summary of the changes necessary to meet the views of this government.

First. Every part of the treaty which forbids the United States fortifying the canal and holding the political control of it in conjunction with the country in which it is located, to be canceled.

Second. Every part of the treaty in which Great Britain and the United States agree to make no acquisition of territory in Central America, to remain in full force. As an original proposition, this government would not admit that Great Britain and the United States should be put on the same basis, even negatively, with respect to territorial acquisitions on the American continent, and would be unwilling to establish such a precedent without full explanation. But the treaty contains that provision with respect to Central America, and if the United States should seek its annulment it might give rise to erroneous and mischievous apprehensions among a people with whom this government desires to be on the most friendly terms. The United States has taken special occasion to assure the Spanish-American Republics to the south of us, that we do not intend and do not desire to cross their borders or in any way disturb their territorial integrity, and we shall not willingly incur the risk of a misunderstanding by annulling the clauses in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty which forbid such a step with respect to Central America. The acquisition of military

and naval stations necessary for the protection of the canal and voluntarily ceded to the United States by the Central American States, is not to be regarded as a violation of the provision contained in the foregoing.

Third. The United States will not object to maintaining the clause looking to the establishment of a free port at each end of whatever canal may be constructed, if England desires it to be retained.

Fourth. The clause in which the two governments agreed to make treaty stipulations for a joint protectorate of whatever railway or canal might be constructed at Tehuantepec or Panama, has never been perfected. No treaty stipulations for the proposed end have been suggested by either party, although citizens of the United States long since constructed a railway at Panama, and are now engaged in the same work at Tehuantepec. It is a fair presumption, in the judgment of the President, that this provision should be regarded as obsolete by the non-action and common consent of the two governments.

Fifth. The clause defining the distance from either end of the canal, where, in time of war, captures might be made by either belligerent on the high seas, was left incomplete and the distance was never determined. In the judgment of the President, speaking in the interest of peaceful commerce, this distance should be made as liberal as possible, and might, with advantage, as a question relating to the high seas and common to all nations, be a matter of stipulation between the great powers of the world.

In assuming as a necessity the political control of whatever canal or canals may be constructed across the isthmus, the United States will act in entire harmony with the governments within whose territory the canals should be located. Between the United States and the other American republics there can be no hostility, no jealousy, no rivalry, no distrust. This government entertains no design in connection with this project for its own advantage which is not also for the equal or greater advantage of the country to be directly and immediately affected, nor does the United States seek any exclusive or narrow commercial advantage. It frankly agrees, and will by public proclamation declare at the proper time, in conjunction with the republic on whose soil the canal may be located, that the same rights and privileges, the same tolls and obligations for the use of the canal shall apply with absolute impartiality to the merchant marine of every nation on the globe. And equally, in time of peace, the harmless use of the canal shall be freely granted to the war vessels of other

nations. In time of war, aside from the defensive use to be made of it by the country in which it is constructed and by the United States, the canal shall be impartially closed against the war vessels of all belligerents. It is the desire and the determination of the United States that the canal shall be used only for the development and increase of peaceful commerce among all the nations, and shall not be considered a strategic point in warfare which may tempt the aggressions of belligerents, or be seized under the compulsions of military necessity by any of the great powers that may have contests in which the United States has no stake, and will take no part.

If it be asked why the United States objects to the assent of European governments to the terms of neutrality for the operation of the canal, my answer is that the right to assent implies the right to dissent, and thus the whole question would be thrown open for contention as an international issue. It is the fixed purpose of the United States to confine it strictly and solely as an American question, to be dealt with and decided by the American governments.

In presenting the views contained herein to Lord Granville, you will take occasion to say that the government of the United States seeks this particular time for the discussion as most opportune and auspicious. At no period since the peace of 1783 have the relations between the British and American governments been so cordial and friendly as now. And I am sure Her Majesty's government will find in the views now suggested, and the propositions now submitted, additional evidence of the desire of this government to remove all possible grounds of controversy between two nations, which have so many interests in common, and so many reasons for honorable and lasting peace.

You will at the earliest opportunity acquaint Lord Granville with the purpose of the United States touching the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and, in your own way, you will impress him fully with the views of your government. I refrain from directing that a copy of this instruction be left with his lordship, because, in reviewing the case, I have necessarily been compelled, in drawing illustrations from British policy, to indulge somewhat freely in the *argumentum ad hominem*. This course of reasoning, in an instruction to our own minister, is altogether legitimate and pertinent, and yet might seem discourteous if addressed directly to the British government. You may deem it expedient to make this explanation to Lord Granville, and if afterward he shall desire a copy of this instruction, you will, of course, furnish it.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

THE WAR BETWEEN CHILI AND PERU.

The Republic of Chili, desiring to replenish its exchequer by conquest, sought a quarrel with Peru, by which it was designed to reap vast treasures by the prosecution of a vigorous war. Two months before the Garfield administration began the war between Chili and Peru had come to a close. This contest was brought about through a difficulty concerning certain beds of nitrate in what was the Peruvian district of Tarapaca before Chili robbed her of it. For many years Peru and Bolivia had enjoyed a monopoly of the nitrate and guano deposits in the Islands which were along their coasts. Some capitalists in Europe, notably the French, were interested in contracts with the Peruvian governments, but moneyed men in Great Britain had not been successful in obtaining a hold in Peru. English capital, however, had always been at the disposition of the government of Chili. This Republic, undoubtedly inspired by British money, turned her eyes toward the nitrate deposits in Tarapaca. Her aggressions were resisted by the united efforts of Bolivia and Peru, though they had to oppose the ironclads and bayonets of Great Britain, which were known to be at the back of the Chilian government. Certain capitalists of Chili obtained possession of a small tract of nitrate deposits in the country of Peru, the rest of the deposits having passed from Bolivia into the possession of Peru by purchase or cession. The pretext for the war was based upon an export duty levied on a nitrate bed owned by citizens of Chili.

As a result of the quarrel regarding this duty and certain broken treaties, the Chilian nitrate works at Auto-fagasta were confiscated. Upon this pretext, the Chilian government occupied a portion of the coast of Peru. Bolivia with Peru having identical interests and having rightfully enjoyed the monopoly of the nitrate and guano

beds, formed an alliance against Chili. On both sides the war was carried on with carnage, cruelty and bloodshed. In the course of the struggle there occurred the celebrated naval battle in which the Peruvian iron-clad "Independencia" was destroyed. Up to this time these two governments had two iron-clads each, and it is probable that Peru would not have been rendered the victim of Chili had this iron-clad been saved from destruction.

The Chief Executive of Peru, Prado, was driven from power, to be succeeded by Pierola, the Dictator and brilliant military commander. On all sides the Chilian forces were triumphant, being conquerors in Tacna, Arica and in Tarapaca. The fleet of Peru was destroyed and Callao was blockaded. This government on the verge of destruction had, in the meanwhile, sent a special envoy to the United States to obtain the good offices of our government as mediator. This visit was followed in 1880 by the famous conference of Arica. This took place on board the United States steamer Lackawanna. Chili, proud of her triumph, and in all probability encouraged by English capitalists to make exorbitant demands, insisted upon extravagant terms, both as to money indemnity and large accessions of territory. The money indemnity it was impossible for bankrupt Peru to pay, and to have surrendered the territory required would have been to surrender her nationality.

To make certain that Chili should have no more difficulty with conquered Peru, the former Republic demanded the cession of all the celebrated salt-petre districts of Auto-fagasta and the nitrate territory of Tarapaca. Peru had nothing else of value to give. To such humiliation the Dictator, Pierola, declined to yield, and the Conference of Arica, as a consequence, was a failure, and hostilities were resumed by the Chilian government. In a few months the Chilian forces were victorious and the ensign of their country was floating over Lima and Callao, and the Peru-

vian Government was reduced to an absolutely powerless condition. At Miraflores the Dictator, Pierola, lost his prestige as a military commander, and escaped for safety to the Andes mountains. Upon this, an effort was undertaken to establish the Government of Garcia Calderon, about which so much has been said and heard in recent American diplomacy.

The object in establishing the Calderon Government was to obtain some authority with which negotiations for peace could be made. This President convoked a Congress in the vicinity of Lima. The State Department of this country made vigorous efforts to bring about the conclusion of an early peace among the belligerent states, two of which had been rendered prostrate at the hands of the other, which was victorious. Upon this victorious country the influence of the United States was brought to bear in the interests of peace and magnanimity, but, owing to an unfortunate misapprehension, Mr. Blaine's instructions to the United States Ministers did not promote the ends of peace. Special envoys were accordingly sent to South America accredited to the three Governments with general instructions which should enable them to bring these belligerent powers into friendly relations.

Mr. Trescot was the leading spirit of the envoys. He was accompanied by Mr. Walker Blaine. Their mission was to perform a most delicate and important diplomatic duty in behalf of peace. The instructions given Mr. Trescot by Secretary Blaine are here inserted, since they furnish sufficient data from which to judge of the position taken by the United States Government.

MR. BLAINE TO MR. TRESHOT.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, November 30, 1881. }

Sir: You will receive herewith your commission as special envoy, with the rank of minister plenipotentiary, to the republics of Chili, Peru and Bolivia. This commission will not supersede the ordinary

duties of the ministers plenipotentiary and resident now accredited to those governments. But, as they will be duly informed, all communications and negotiations connected with the settlement of the pending difficulties between Chili, Peru, and Bolivia, so far as this government may deem it judicious to take action, will be transferred to your charge. Under the instructions which will be furnished, you will place yourself in direct communication with those governments; but it is expected, as I am sure you will desire, that you should learn from the United States ministers now there the exact condition of existing political relations, and that you will give due regard to such suggestions as their recent experience enables them to submit to your consideration. Whatever action, however, you may take, must be decided upon your own responsibility, and will be the exercise of your independent authority.

After full consideration of your suggestion that it may be necessary to conduct the same negotiation at more than one point, the President has directed the Third Assistant Secretary of State to accompany you. Should the occasion which you anticipate arise, you are authorized to give Mr. Blaine the necessary instructions; his official rank in the department, and his detail for special service on this mission being sufficient to authorize him, without a formal commission, to execute your instructions.

Your expenses, and those of the Third Assistant Secretary who accompanies you, going and returning, and such as are incidental to your residence in South America and the mission upon which you are sent, will be allowed by this department, in the confidence that with due regard to the proprieties of your position, and the duties with which you are charged, these expenses will be reasonably and carefully regulated.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

MR. BLAINE TO MR. WALKER BLAINE.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, November 30, 1881. }

Sir: You are aware that the President has deemed it proper to send a special mission to Chili, Peru and Bolivia, and that the Hon. William Henry Trescot, of South Carolina, has been appointed special envoy.

As it is probable that the contemplated negotiations will have to be conducted at the same time at different points, you will, by direction of the President of the United States, be attached to this mission, on

special service, with your official rank as Third Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Trescot is authorized to empower you to represent the government in any of the countries named, should the necessity occur, under such instructions as he shall give you, and he is directed, in case of his own absence, to place the mission under your charge during such absence.

While with Mr. Trescot, you will render such assistance in the discharge of his duties as he may require.

As you are already a salaried officer of the United States, no compensation can be given you beyond the repayment of your proper and necessary expenses, for which you will render an account, with such vouchers as may be obtainable, such account to be audited by the Secretary of State.

You will, in the course of your special service, communicate freely with the department, by telegraph and in cipher, when practicable and requisite; and you will from time to time receive such instructions as may be necessary.

The Secretary of the Navy has directed the commanders of our national vessels on the South American Pacific coast to assist Mr. Trescot's movements and yours in all possible ways. To this end, a vessel of war will await your arrival at Panama.

Trusting that the success of this mission will meet the confident expectations of the President and of this department,

I am, sir, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

MR. BLAINE TO MR. TRESBOT.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, December 1, 1881. }

Sir: While the circumstances under which the President has deemed it proper to charge you with a special mission to the Republics of Chili, Peru and Bolivia, render it necessary that very much must be confided to your own discretion, it is desirable that you should be placed in full possession of his views as to the general line of conduct which you will be expected to pursue.

For this purpose it is not necessary at present to go further back in the history of the unfortunate relations between Chili on the one hand and Peru and Bolivia on the other, than the time when the defeat of General Piérola, his abandonment of the capital and the coast and their occupation by the Chilian army seemed to have put an end to all responsible native government in Peru. Lima having been surrendered on the 19th January, 1881, Piérola driven across the

mountains, the Chilian military occupation consolidated, and the Chilian government refusing to recognize Piérola as representing the government of Peru, it became absolutely necessary that some government should be established, if Peru was not to remain simply a military district of Chili.

On February 25, 1881, Mr. Christiancy, the United States minister at Lima, wrote this department as follows:

“A movement has, therefore, been initiated among some of the leading citizens of Lima and Callao *and encouraged by the Chilian authorities*, to establish a new government in opposition to that of Piérola [who is still at Tacna or Yareja.]”

From this date to April 13, 1881, Mr. Christiancy kept the department informed of the probabilities of the establishment of the Calderon government, so called from the name of the eminent Peruvian statesman who had been chosen as President. On that date he wrote:

“In my own private opinion, however, if the provisional government had come up without any appearance of support from the Chilian authorities, it would have had many elements of popularity, and would probably have succeeded in obtaining the acquiescence of the people. This new government realizes the importance of an early peace with Chili, the necessity of which must be recognized by every thoughtful man; while that of Piérola professes to intend to carry on the war; but it has no means for the purpose at present, and my own opinion is that any effort to do so will end in still greater calamities to Peru.”

On May 23, the same minister, in a postscript to his dispatch of the 17th says:

“Since writing the above, it has become still more probable that the threat of ‘indefinite occupation’ was intended only to drive the Peruvians into the support of the provisional government, as two days ago they allowed the government to send seventy-five soldiers to Tacna, Oroyo, etc., to control that part of the country, so as to allow the members of Congress to come to Lima; and it now begins to look as if Calderon might secure a quorum (two thirds) of the Congress. If he does succeed, it will be some evidence that Peru acquiesces in that government. And if he gets the two thirds of the members, I think I shall recognize the provisional government, or that of the Congress and the President they may elect, unless in the meantime I shall receive other instructions.”

On the 9th of May, 1881, instructions had been sent to him from the department, which crossed this dispatch, in which he was told:

“If the Calderon government is supported by the character and

intelligence of Peru, and is really endeavoring to restore constitutional government with a view both to order within and negotiations with Chili for peace, you may recognize it as the existing provisional government, and render what aid you can by advice and good offices to that end."

Acting under these instructions, although with some expressed doubt as to the probable permanence of its existence, Mr. Christiancy, on the 26th of June, 1881, formally recognized the Calderon government. It is clear that this recognition was not an unfriendly intervention as far as the wishes and interests of Chili were concerned, for under date of May 7, 1881, two days before these instructions of the 9th were sent to Mr. Christiancy, Mr. Osborn, the United States minister to Chili, wrote from Santiago as follows:

"In my 201, of date April 5, regarding the war in this section, I mentioned the fact that the minister of war, Mr. Vergara, who had been with the army at Lima, had been sent for, and was then on his way to Chili. Since his arrival the government has labored to reach a conclusion touching the course to be pursued with Peru, and to that end numerous and extended discussions among the ministers and prominent citizens of the Republic, who had been invited to participate, have taken place. Three plans or propositions were discussed: First, that spoken of by me in my 201, involving the withdrawal of the army to Arica; second, the occupation of the entire Peruvian coast by the Chilian forces, and its government by Chilian authorities; and third, the strengthening of the government of Calderon, and the negotiation of a peace therewith. The propriety of entering into negotiations with Piérola was not even dignified with a consideration. After much labor the government reached the conclusion that the last proposition afforded the easiest way out of their complications, and it has been determined to send to Peru, in charge of the negotiations, Mr. Godoy. * * * The ministry has freely counseled with me regarding the difficulties of the situation, and in view of their previous determination to have nothing to do with Piérola, I cannot but applaud the result of their deliberations. To vacate the country now would be to turn it over to anarchy, and to attempt to occupy the entire coast would, in time, involve both countries in ruin. The most feasible way to peace is, in my opinion, the one resolved upon. In fact it is the only one which offers any reasonable hope of a solution of the difficulties during the present generation."

In giving the support of recognition to the Calderon government, therefore, so far was this government from doing what could be considered an unfriendly act to Chili, that it was, in fact, giving its aid

to the very policy which Chili avowed, and which, in the opinion of competent judges, was the only method of reasonable solution.

And this conclusion of the government was strengthened and confirmed by the information which was transmitted to the Department by General Kilpatrick, the United States minister to Chili. General Kilpatrick was appointed after the recognition of the Calderon government, and was furnished with instructions to which I have already referred.

In his dispatch No. 3, under date of August 15, 1881, he says:

“I have the honor to report that so far as the assurance of public men can be relied upon, your instructions have been complied with; your ideas of final terms of peace accepted, not only by the present administration at Santiago, but still better by Señor Santa Maria, the president elect, whose administration will have begun when you receive this note.”

General Kilpatrick then proceeds to give a detailed account of a lengthy interview with the leading and most influential members of the Chilian government, in which he quotes the following as the final assurances given to him by the Chilian secretary of state:

“You may therefore say to your government that every effort would be given by Chili to strengthen the government of President Calderon, giving to it the most perfect freedom of action, considering the Chilian occupation. That no question of Chilian annexation would be touched until a constitutional government could be established in Peru, acknowledged and respected by the people, with full powers to enter into diplomatic negotiation for peace. That no territory would be exacted unless Chili failed to secure ample and just indemnification in other and satisfactory ways, as also ample security for the future; and that in no case would Chili exact territory save where Chilian enterprise and Chilian capital had developed the desert and where to-day nine tenths of the people were Chilian.”

But after this recognition, made in entire good faith to both parties, three things followed:

1. The presence of a United States minister at Lima accredited to the Calderon government, and the reception in Washington of a minister from that government, gave it, unquestionably increased strength and confidence.

2. The adherents of Piérola, realizing the necessity of peace and the existence of a stable government to negotiate it, gradually abandoned the forlorn hope of continued resistance, and gave their adhesion to the Calderon government.

3. The congress which assembled within the neutral zone set

apart for that purpose by the Chilian authorities, and which was further allowed by the Chilian government to provide for the military impositions by the use of the national credit, and thus recognized as the representative of the Peruvian people, authorized President Calderon to negotiate a peace, but upon the condition that no territory should be ceded.

As soon as these facts indicated the possibility of a real and independent vitality in the constitution of the Calderon government the Chilian military authorities issued an order forbidding any exercise of its functions within the territory occupied by the Chilian army—that is, within the entire territory west of the mountains, including the capital and ports of Peru.

Unable to understand this sudden and, giving due regard to the professions of Chili, this unaccountable change of policy, this government instructed its minister at Lima to continue to recognize the Calderon government until more complete information would enable it to send further instructions. If our present information is correct, immediately upon the receipt of this communication they arrested President Calderon, and thus, as far as was in their power, extinguished his government. The President does not now insist upon the inference which this action would warrant. He hopes that there is some explanation which will relieve him from the painful impression that it was taken in resentful reply to the continued recognition of the Calderon government by the United States. If, unfortunately, he should be mistaken, and such a motive be avowed, your duty will be a brief one. You will say to the Chilian government that the President considers such a proceeding as an intentional and unwarranted offense, and that you will communicate such an avowal to the Government of the United States, with the assurance that it will be regarded as an act of such unfriendly import as to require the immediate suspension of all diplomatic intercourse. You will inform me immediately of the happening of such a contingency and instructions will be sent you.

But I do not anticipate such an occurrence. From the information before the Department, of which you are possessed, it is more probable that this course will be explained by an allegation that the conduct and language of the United States minister in Peru had encouraged the Calderon government to such resistance of the wishes of Chili as to render the negotiation of a satisfactory treaty of peace with the Calderon government impossible. Any explanation which relieves this action of the Chilian government of the character of an intentional offense will be received by you to that extent, provided it

does not require as a condition precedent the disavowal of Mr. Hurlbut. Whatever may be my opinion as to the discretion of all that may have been said or done by Mr. Hurlbut, it is impossible for me to recognize the right of the Chilian government to take such action without submitting to the consideration of this government any cause of complaint which it was prepared to allege against the proceedings of the representative of the United States. The Chilian government was in possession of the instructions sent to that minister, as well as those to his colleague at Santiago. There was no pretense that the conduct of General Kilpatrick was anything but friendly. Chili was represented here by a minister who enjoyed the confidence of his government, and nothing can justify the assumption that the United States was acting a double part in its relations to the two countries. If the conduct of the United States minister seemed inconsistent with what Chili had every reason to know was the friendly intention of the United States, a courteous representation through the Chilian minister here would have enabled this government promptly to correct or confirm him. You are not therefore authorized to make to the Chilian government any explanation of the conduct of General Hurlbut, if that government, not having afforded us the opportunity of accepting or disavowing his conduct, insists upon making its interpretation of his proceedings the justification of its recent action.

It is hoped, however, that you will be able, by communication, at once firm and temperate, to avoid these embarrassments. If you should fortunately reach the ground where frank, mutual explanation can be made, without the sacrifice of that respect which every government owes to itself, you will then be at liberty, conforming your explanation to the recent instruction to Mr. Hurlbut, with a copy of which you are furnished, to show to the government of Chili how much both his words and acts have been misconceived.

It is difficult for me to say now how far an explanation would be satisfactory to the President, which was not accompanied by the restoration or recognition of the Calderon government. The objects which he has at heart are, first, to prevent the misery, confusion and bloodshed which the present relations between Chili and Peru seem only too certain to renew; and, second, to take care that in any friendly attempt to reach this desirable end the government of the United States is treated with the respectful consideration to which its disinterested purpose, its legitimate influence, and its established position entitle it. The President feels in this matter neither irritation nor resentment. He regrets that Chili seems to have misconceived

both the spirit and intention of the government of the United States, and thinks her conduct has been inconsiderate. He will gladly learn that a calmer and a wiser judgment directs her counsels, and asks in no exacting spirit the correction of what were, perhaps, natural misunderstandings. So he would be satisfied with the manifestation of a sincere purpose on the part of Chili to aid Peru, either in restoring the present provincial government, or establishing in its place one which will be allowed the proper freedom of action necessary to restore internal order and to conduct a real negotiation to some substantial result.

Should the Chilian Government, while disclaiming any intention of offense, maintain its right to settle its difficulties with Peru without the friendly intervention of other powers, and refuse to allow the formation of any government in Peru which does not pledge its consent to the cession of Peruvian territory, it will be your duty, in language as strong as is consistent with the respect due an independent power, to express the disappointment and dissatisfaction felt by the United States at such a deplorable policy.

You will say that this government recognizes without reserve the right of Chili to adequate indemnity for the cost of the war, and a sufficient guarantee that it will not again be subjected to hostile demonstration from Peru; and further, that if Peru is unable or unwilling to furnish such indemnity, the right of conquest has put it in the power of Chili to supply them, and the reasonable exercise of that right, however much its necessity may be regretted, is not ground of legitimate complaint on the part of other powers. But this government feels that the exercise of the right of absolute conquest is dangerous to the best interests of all the republics on this continent; that from it are certain to spring other wars and political disturbances; and that it imposes, even upon the conqueror, burdens which are scarcely compensated by the apparent increase of strength which it gives. This government also holds that between two independent nations hostilities do not, from the mere existence of war, confer the right of conquest until the failure to furnish the indemnity and guarantee which can be rightfully demanded.

The United States maintains, therefore, that Peru has the right to demand that an opportunity should be allowed her to find such indemnity and guarantee. Nor can this government admit that a cession of territory can be properly exacted far exceeding in value the amplest estimate of a reasonable indemnity.

Already, by force of its occupation, the Chilian Government has collected great sums from Peru; and it has been openly and officially

asserted in the Chilian Congress that these military impositions have furnished a surplus beyond the cost of maintaining its armies in that occupation. The annexation of Tarapacá, which, under proper administration, would produce annually a sum sufficient to pay a large indemnity, seems to us to be not consistent with the execution of justice.

The practical prohibition of the formation of a staple government in Peru, and the absolute appropriation of its most valuable territory, is simply the extinction of a State which has formed part of the system of republics on this continent, honorable in the traditions and illustrations of its past history, and rich in the resources for future progress. The United States, with which Peru has for many years maintained the most cordial relations, has the right to feel and express a deep interest in its distressed condition; and while with equal friendliness to Chili, we will not interpose to deprive her of the fair advantages of military success, nor put any obstacle to the attainment of future security, we cannot regard with unconcern the destruction of Peruvian nationality. If our good offices are rejected, and this policy of absorption of an independent State be persisted in, this government will consider itself discharged from any further obligation to be influenced in its action by the position which Chili has assumed, and will hold itself free to appeal to the other republics of this continent to join it in an effort to avert consequences which cannot be confined to Chili and Peru, but which threaten with extremest danger the political institutions, the peaceful progress, and the liberal civilization, of all America.

If, however, none of these embarrassing obstacles supervene, and Chili receives in a friendly spirit the representations of the United States, it will be your purpose:

First. To concert such measures as will enable Peru to establish a regular government, and initiate negotiation.

Second. To induce Chili to consent to such negotiation without cession of territory as a condition precedent.

Third. To impress upon Chili, that in such negotiation she ought to allow Peru a fair opportunity to provide for a reasonable indemnity; and, in this connection, to let it be understood that the United States would consider the imposition of an extravagant indemnity, so as to make the cession of territory necessary in satisfaction, as more than is justified by the actual cost of the war, and as a solution threatening renewed difficulty between the two countries.

As it is probable that some time will elapse before the completion of all the arrangements necessary for a final negotiation, this govern-

ment would suggest a temporary convention, which, recognizing the spirit of our present friendly representation, would bring Peru and Chili into amicable conference, and provide for a meeting of plenipotentiaries to negotiate a permanent treaty of peace.

If negotiation be assured, the ability of Peru to furnish the indemnity will be a matter of direct interest. Upon this subject we have no information upon which definite instructions can now be based. While you will carefully abstain from any interposition in this connection, you will examine and report to this department promptly any plans which may be suggested.

You will not indicate any wish that the government of the United States should act as umpire in the adjudications between the contending powers. Should an invitation to that effect be extended, you will communicate by telegraph for instructions. The single and simple desire of this government is to see a just and honorable peace at the earliest day practicable, and if any other American government can more effectively aid in producing this auspicious result, the United States will cordially sustain it, and lend such co-operation as the circumstances demand. I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

PEACE CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON.

Two days before Mr. Blaine issued instructions to the envoys who were sent to Peru and Chili for the purpose of negotiating peace, he addressed a letter of invitation to the independent Republics of North and South America, inviting them all to meet in congress at Washington, D.C., on the 24th day of November, 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war among the nations of America. Particular stress was laid upon the suggestion that the congress must be strictly confined to this one object; and the circular further dwelt upon the far-reaching consequences of war, the exhausted finances, oppressive debts, ruined States, paralyzed industries, devastated fields, slaughtering of men, the grief of the widow and the orphan, and the embittered resentments handed down to future generations. The entire tone of the invitation was designed to impress upon the South American and Central American States, so frequently in-

volved in external dissensions, that the purpose of the congress was to consider, and, if possible, agree upon conditions which would avoid them in the future. But it also expressly stated that the United States did not assume to determine any existing differences, and that such questions would not properly come before the conference. Finally it was proposed that each government should send two commissioners to the congress, and that the United States would enter it upon the same footing as the other States. A circular letter was addressed to Mr. Osborn, Minister to the Argentine Republic, in the following words:

MR. BLAINE TO MR. OSBORN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, November 29, 1881. }

Sir: The attitude of the United States with respect to the question of general peace on the American continent is well known through its persistent efforts for years past to avert the evils of warfare, or, these efforts failing, to bring positive conflicts to an end through pacific counsels or the advocacy of impartial arbitration.

This attitude has been consistently maintained, and always with such fairness as to leave no room for imputing to our government any motive except the humane and disinterested one of saving the kindred States of the American continent from the burdens of war. The position of the United States as the leading power of the New World might well give to its government a claim to authoritative utterance for the purpose of quieting discord among its neighbors, with all of whom the most friendly relations exist. Nevertheless, the good offices of this government are not and have not at any time been tendered with a show of dictation or compulsion, but only as exhibiting the solicitous good-will of a common friend.

For some years past a growing disposition has been manifested by certain States of Central and South America to refer disputes affecting grave questions of international relationship and boundaries to arbitration rather than to the sword. It has been on several such occasions a source of profound satisfaction to the Government of the United States to see that this country is in a large measure looked to by all the American powers as their friend and mediator. The just and impartial counsel of the President in such cases has never been withheld,

and his efforts have been rewarded by the prevention of sanguinary strife or angry contentions between peoples whom we regard as brethren.

The existence of this growing tendency convinces the President that the time is ripe for a proposal that shall enlist the good-will and active co-operation of all the States of the western hemisphere, both north and south, in the interest of humanity and for the common weal of nations. He conceives that none of the governments of America can be less alive than our own to the dangers and horrors of a state of war, and especially of war between kinsmen. He is sure that none of the chiefs of governments on the continent can be less sensitive than he is to the sacred duty of making every endeavor to do away with the chances of fratricidal strife. And he looks with hopeful confidence to such active assistance from them as will serve to show the broadness of our common humanity and the strength of the ties which bind us all together as a great and harmonious system of American commonwealths.

Impressed by these views, the President extends to all the independent countries of North and South America an earnest invitation to participate in a general congress to be held in the city of Washington on the 24th day of November, 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America. He desires that the attention of the congress shall be strictly confined to this one great object; that its sole aim shall be to seek a way of permanently averting the horrors of cruel and bloody combat between countries, oftenest of one blood and speech, or the even worse calamity of internal commotion and civil strife; that it shall regard the burdensome and far-reaching consequences of such struggles, the legacies of exhausted finances, of oppressive debt, of onerous taxation, of ruined cities, of paralyzed industries, of devastated fields, of ruthless conscription, of the slaughter of men, of the grief of the widow and the orphan, of embittered resentments, that long survive those who provoked them and heavily afflict the innocent generations that come after.

The President is especially desirous to have it understood that, in putting forth this invitation, the United States does not assume the position of counseling, or attempting, through the voice of the congress, to counsel any determinate solution of existing questions which may now divide any of the countries of America. Such questions cannot properly come before the congress. Its mission is higher. It is to provide for the interests of all in the future, not to settle the individual differences of the present. For this reason especially the Presi-

dent has indicated a day for the assembling of the congress so far in the future as to leave good ground for hope that by the time named the present situation on the South Pacific coast will be happily terminated, and that those engaged in the contest may take peaceable part in the discussion and solution of the general question affecting in an equal degree the well-being of all.

It seems also desirable to disclaim in advance any purpose on the part of the United States to prejudge the issues to be presented to the congress. It is far from the intent of this government to appear before the congress as in any sense the protector of its neighbors or the predestined and necessary arbitrator of their disputes. The United States will enter into the deliberations of the congress on the same footing as the other powers represented, and with the loyal determination to approach any proposed solution, not merely in its own interest, or with a view to asserting its own power, but as a single member among many co-ordinate and co-equal States. So far as the influence of this government may be potential, it will be exerted in the direction of conciliating whatever conflicting interests of blood, or government, or historical tradition may necessarily come together in response to a call embracing such vast and diverse elements.

You will present these views to the minister of foreign relations of the Argentine Republic, enlarging, if need be, in such terms as will readily occur to you, upon the great mission which it is within the power of the proposed congress to accomplish in the interest of humanity, and upon the firm purpose of the United States to maintain a position of the most absolute and impartial friendship toward all. You will thereupon, in the name of the President of the United States, tender to His Excellency, the President of the Argentine Republic, a formal invitation to send two commissioners to the congress, provided with such powers and instructions on behalf of their government as will enable them to consider the questions brought before that body within the limit of submission contemplated by this invitation. The United States, as well as the other powers, will, in like manner, be represented by two commissioners, so that equality and impartiality will be amply secured in the proceedings of the congress.

In delivering this invitation through the minister of foreign affairs, you will read this dispatch to him and leave with him a copy intimating that an answer is desired by this government as promptly as the just consideration of so important a proposition will permit.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

RETIREMENT OF SECRETARY BLAINE.

Mr. Blaine withdrew from the State Department in a quiet and unostentatious way, having retired on the 19th of December, 1881. His diplomatic career began with his appointment as Secretary of State, on the 5th of March, and closed with his resignation three months after the death of President Garfield. He did not desire to remain in connection with the Administration of President Arthur, but exhibited no unseemly haste in quitting the position which he had accepted at the solicitation of Mr. Arthur's predecessor. His retirement was marked by the same decorum and good judgment which distinguished his conduct of public affairs during the long and trying period of President Garfield's prostration. There was nothing sensational about either. He did not retire and relapse into obscurity; he stepped out in the full flush of success, a bold and hopeful statesman, confident in the admiration and friendship of the great mass of the people. Upon his retirement from the position, many attempts were made to assail his administration of affairs, but in the end the public were fully informed of his actions and the Secretary was found not only to be free from charge, but to have exercised the duties of his office in a manner most commendable. Though pursued by envious enemies, his admirers flocked to his standard with a promptness and enthusiasm which fully showed that as long as he lived he must be counted an element in American politics. They declared him the Henry Clay of his time; the ideal of vast masses of the people, and having a name the most potent of any with which to conjure. He who would reckon without including Mr. Blaine in the count, reckoned without his host. It was said of him that he combined with the brilliant, electrifying qualities of the Irish orators Locke, Phillips, Curran, Grattan or Emmet, the obstinate persistency and shrewdness of the Yankee. If there was an

“imminent deadly breach” in the party castle-wall, Mr. Blaine stood there proudly breathing not only defiance, but threatenings of slaughter to its enemies. Never was more fitting title given to man than that to Mr. Blaine, “The Plumed Knight.” He never waited to be challenged; “he flung his glove impetuously into the arena of the combat, and with flashing eyes and intellectual faculties met whoever came.”

A writer, commenting at the time, used language such as this: “Mr. Blaine’s contests in the House of Representatives will never be forgotten. His victories over the Democratic party there made him the Republican hero par-excellence, and caused him to be worshiped by Republicans as Wellington was worshiped by Englishmen after the Battle of Waterloo. Mr. Blaine is to the Republican party what Lord Brougham was to the Reform Party in England. Brougham’s force as a public speaker was as compared to the thunderbolt. Blaine’s incisive keenness is like a flash of electric light—it exposes and transfixes his opponent. Brougham associated his name conspicuously and liberally with every great measure of reform in England during his brilliant career. The stamp of Blaine’s genius is to be found upon every great measure proposed and carried by the Republican party, whether in convention or in Congress from the date of his entry upon the political stage down to the present time. Mr. Blaine is no less daring than was the late Mr. Disraeli, but he is less selfish; nor is he like Mr. Disraeli in that the latter, to advance his political fortunes, shifted his allegiance from Tory to Liberal, and back again from Liberal to Tory. Mr. Blaine has been a life-long Republican, and nothing else. He holds a large place in the public heart, because in character he is a Yankee. He can be compared with no one man in American public life. He is a statesman of a peculiar type, and stands a little apart from all other public men, and in this isolated position he is viewed alone. That he is a

colossal figure is more evident now in the time of his retirement than at any period of his career, since, although he holds no public office, he is constantly in the public eye. His enemies will not let him rest. They dread his blows, but seem to court them. There is a fascination about the man that is irresistible, even to his enemies. Like moths flitting about a candle, they place themselves within reach of his trenchant blow and are stricken down. Mr. Blaine is indeed a man to be dealt with fairly and kindly. He has the keen intuition of a woman, the logic of a man, and the force of a Hercules."

Thus was Mr. Blaine regarded when he retired from the position of Secretary of State, and thus he continues to be regarded, holding aloft the Republican flag and the standard-bearer of throngs as enthusiastic as ever marshaled under the banner of a conquering hero.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S FOREIGN POLICY.

After Mr. Trescot and Mr. Walker Blaine had set out to South America on their delicate mission, Secretary Blaine resigned, and Mr. Frelinghuysen became his successor. The new Secretary at once reversed the diplomatic policy of Mr. Blaine with such haste, that Mr. Trescot on arriving at his destination was informed by the Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs that the instructions which he held had been countermanded, and that his mission was of no avail. By this extraordinary reversal of diplomatic methods and purposes the influence of our government on the South American Coast was reduced to so low a point as to become insignificant. The policy of Mr. Blaine had been both pacific and strong. It was followed by a period of scarcely any policy at all, which enabled the Republic of Chili to impose the terms of a conquerer upon the vanquished, and to seize such territory from Peru as pleased its greedy generals. Trescot was sent to South America for the purpose of saving Peru from confiscation at the hands of victorious Chili. There was no other object in his mission.

When Secretary Frelinghuysen came into office he instructed Mr. Trescot to let negotiations take their course. Secretary Frelinghuysen preferred that the envoys should remain instead of being recalled, though Mr. Trescot could not see any object in his mission after the instructions had been reversed. Chili dictated the most extravagant terms. It took possession of the guano and nitrate districts of Peru, and then exacted a war indemnity, which Peru could not pay while deprived of its natural resources. The Secretary dispatched Trescot to urge moderation upon the part of Chili, but at the same time continued to remind her that the American Government merely proposed to give counsel to aid the negotiations. Chili was encouraged by this to receive the American suggestions with contempt. Trescot was compelled to reply to the State Department as follows: "The terms of peace will not be modified by Chili: the publication of instructions to me made it impossible to secure a modification."

Chili was not disposed to abandon its policy of spoliation to suit any government which had not the courage of its convictions to pronounce in advance that it would not interfere with any conditions that might be imposed upon the vanquished Republic. Mr. Trescot could not see why he should be there at all. He felt the awkwardness and humiliation of his position, and asked to be recalled to Washington.

In addition to the action of the government regarding the settlement of difficulties between Chili and Peru, Secretary Frelinghuysen took such measures as to recall the invitation to the Peace congress at Washington City, which had been sent out by Mr. Blaine on the 1st of December.

Whatever may have been the motives of the Administration in reversing the policy of Mr. Blaine, it is sufficient to state that in the course of a few months such modifications were made by the government as indicated its deter-

mination to resume, wholly or in part, the policy of Secretary Blaine. This measure of Mr. Frelinghuysen was styled by the press of the day the "no-policy" of the government on the South American question, and was severely criticised by that part of the press which had supported President Garfield. The London *Times* referring to the diplomacy of Mr. Frelinghuysen, said: "Englishmen regard it with as sincere good will as if devised on their special behalf;" and this was the key-note to the attitude of Chili.

BLAINE'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT ARTHUR.

When it became known to the public that President Arthur designed the recall of invitations to the Peace congress at Washington, Secretary Blaine became very much interested, and deeply regretted that any such action should take place. Accordingly he addressed a letter to the President, setting forth his views. This letter appealed irresistibly to the judgment of the American people. The idea of the Peace congress originated with President Garfield, who decided to issue such a circular, inviting every independent State in North and South America, including Brazil, to send two delegates or representatives to a Bi-Continental Congress to meet at Washington. Before this letter was actually sent, the President was killed by an assassin, and no action was taken until Mr. Arthur became President. The unexecuted plan was then brought to his notice, and he most heartily approved it, and endorsed the views of the Secretary.

No more was heard of the letter until Mr. Frelinghuysen's instructions to Trescot were published, by which it appeared that Mr. Arthur gave notice that the invitations were revoked, and the conference was not only abandoned, but disapproved. Against this sudden change of front, both from public and personal considerations, Mr. Blaine, properly and with considerable dignity, protested and urged the President to recall this ill-advised revoca-

tion. Mr. Frelinghuysen did not state in his letter any of the reasons inducing the President to revoke in January the invitations issued by him in December, beyond an intimation that the conference of the States of the continent of North and South America, without the consent and countenance of European nations, would be an offense, prejudicial to our friendly relations with the governments of Europe. This was not deemed by all a sufficient reason, since conferences by representatives are of common occurrence in Europe; but the United States is never invited. This is never deemed an offense to this country. The American Republic has no concern in European matters, and never interposes her authority or advice concerning them. The nations of North and South America have interests in common, wholly distinct from those of the rest of the earth. They have a common safety to secure from European aggression. Many of them are weak and opposed to conquest by any of the great nations of Europe. They can appeal to no one save their neighbors on the American continent. The safety and protection of one is the safety and protection of all. The occurrence of a protracted and destructive war in South America, ending in the defeat of one South American Republic, exposed both to the danger of being seized by an European power for money due to bond-holders. An understanding for mutual defense as against European seizure and spoliation, and a closer union for commercial and industrial purposes, suggested themselves to all the peoples and States. To make that wish a reality instead of a theory, was the thought of President Garfield, as it was undoubtedly the thought of acting-President Arthur, in proposing this conference of all the governments of the two hemispheres. The whole country shared the surprise which Mr. Blaine expressed at the proceeding, and united in the appeal which he made. The following is the text of his letter :

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 3.

To the President of the United States,—The suggestion of a congress of all American nations to assemble in the city of Washington for the purpose of agreeing on such a basis of arbitration for international troubles as would remove all possibility of war on the western hemisphere was warmly approved by your predecessor. His assassination July 2 prevented his issuing the invitation to the American States. After your accession to the Presidency I acquainted you with the project, and submitted to you the draft for such an invitation. You received the suggestion with most appreciative consideration, and, after carefully examining the form of invitation, directed it to be sent. It was accordingly dispatched, in November, to the independent governments of America, North and South, including all, from the empire of Brazil to the smallest republic. In a communication addressed by the present Secretary of State, on the 9th of last month, to Mr. Trescot, and recently sent to the Senate, I was greatly surprised to find a proposition looking to the annulment of these invitations, and I was still more surprised when I read the reasons assigned. I quote Frelinghuysen's language:

“The United States is at peace with all nations of the earth, and the President wishes hereafter to determine whether it will conduce to the general peace, which he would cherish and promote, for this government to enter into negotiations and consultations for the promotion of peace with selected friendly nationalities, without extending the line of confidence to other people with whom the United States is on equally friendly terms. If such partial confidence would create jealousy and ill-will, peace, the object sought by such consultation, would not be promoted. The principles controlling the relations of the republics of this hemisphere with other nationalities may, on investigation, be found to be so well-established that little would be gained at this time by re-opening the subject, which is not novel.”

If I correctly apprehend the meaning of these words it is, that we might offend some European powers if we should hold in the United States a congress of “selected nationalities” of America.

This is certainly a new position for the United States to assume, and one which I earnestly beg you will not permit this government to occupy. European powers assemble in congress whenever an object seems to them of sufficient importance to justify it. I have never heard of their consulting the government of the United States in regard to the propriety of their so assembling, nor have I ever known their inviting an American representative to be present, nor

would there, in my judgment, be any good reason for their so doing. Two Presidents of the United States in the year 1881 adjudged it to be expedient that American powers should meet in congress for the sole purpose of agreeing upon some basis for arbitration of differences that may arise between them, and for the prevention, as far as possible, of wars in the future. If that movement is now to be arrested for fear it may give offense to Europe, the voluntary humiliation of this government could not be more complete unless we should petition European governments for the privilege of holding the congress.

I cannot conceive how the United States could be placed in a less enviable position than would be secured by sending, in November, a cordial invitation to all American governments to meet in Washington for the sole purpose of concerting measures of peace, and in January recalling the invitation for fear it might create "jealousy and ill-will" on the part of monarchical governments in Europe. It would be difficult to devise a more effective mode of making enemies of the American governments, and it would certainly not add to our prestige in the European world. Nor can I see, Mr. President, how European governments should feel "jealousy and ill-will" toward the United States because of an effort on our part to assure lasting peace between the nations of America, unless, indeed, it be the interest of the European powers that the American nations should at intervals fall into war, and bring reproach on republican government. But from that very circumstance I see an additional and powerful motive for American governments to be at peace among themselves. The United States is indeed at peace with all the world, as Mr. Frelinghuysen well says; but there are, and have been, serious troubles between other American Republics. Peru, Chili and Bolivia have been for more than two years engaged in a desperate conflict. It was the fortunate intervention of the United States last spring that averted war between Chili and the Argentine Republic. Guatemala is at this moment asking the United States to interpose its good offices with Mexico to keep off war.

These important facts were all communicated in your late message to Congress. It is the existence or menace of these wars that influenced President Garfield, and, as I suppose, influenced yourself, to desire a friendly conference of all nations of America to devise methods of permanent peace and consequent prosperity for all. Shall the United States now turn back, hold aloof, and refuse to exert its great moral power for the advantage of its weaker neighbors? If you have not formally and fully recalled the invitations to a peace Con-

gress, Mr. President, I beg of you to consider well the effect of so doing. The invitation was not mine. It was yours. I performed only the part of secretary to advise and draft. You spoke in the name of the United States to each of the independent nations of America. To revoke that invitation for any cause would be embarrassing; to revoke it for avowed "fears of jealousy and ill-will" on the part of European powers would appeal as little to American pride as to American hospitality. Those you have invited may decline, and, having now cause to doubt their welcome, will perhaps do so. This would break up the congress, but would not touch our dignity. Beyond the philanthropic and Christian ends to be obtained by the American conference, devoted to peace and good-will among men, we might well hope for material advantages as a result of a better understanding and closer friendship with the nations of America. At present the condition of trade between the United States and its American neighbors is unsatisfactory to us, and even deplorable.

According to the official statistics of our own Treasury Department the balance against us in that trade last year was \$120,000,000—a sum greater than the yearly product of the gold and silver mines in the United States. This vast balance was paid by us in foreign exchange, and a very large proportion of it went to England, where shipments of cotton, provisions and breadstuffs supplied the money. If anything should change or check the balance in our favor in European trade, our commercial exchanges with Spanish America would drain us of our reserve of gold coin at a rate exceeding \$100,000,000 per annum, and would probably precipitate the suspension of specie payment in this country. Such a result at home might be worse than a little "jealousy and ill will" abroad. I do not say, Mr. President, the holding of a peace congress will necessarily change the currents of trade, but it will bring us into kindly relations with all the American nations; it will promote the reign of peace, and law, and order; it will increase production and consumption, and will stimulate the demand for articles which American manufacturers can furnish with profit. It will, at all events, be a friendly and auspicious beginning in the direction of American influence and American trade in a large field which we have hitherto greatly neglected, and which has been practically monopolized by our commercial rivals in Europe. As Mr. Frelinghuysen's dispatch foreshadowing an abandonment of a peace congress is being made public by your direction, I deem it a matter of propriety and justice to give this letter to the press.

I am, Mr. President, with great respect, your ever obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER X.

BLAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY.

IN the case of Peru, the rights of some American citizens were jeopardized, and besides these there were claimants in America and France who sought the intervention of the United States. These claims were known as those of Cochet, the Peruvian Company, Landreau and the Credit Industriel; but the Cochet claim and that of the Peruvian Company were identical. Soon after Mr. Blaine retired from the cabinet, reports were spread abroad that he had been unduly ambitious in advocating his foreign policy, and had also been interested in private claims in demanding the protection of Peru. Accordingly a congressional committee was ordered to look into the South American policy of the Garfield administration, and the proceedings of the investigation which followed comprised 800 printed pages of documents and 400 printed pages of testimony. The investigation was intended as a crusade against Mr. Blaine, and a great many charges were raised and answered.

It was charged in some of the newspapers directly, and insinuated in many others, that Mr. Blaine had concealed certain papers, which, in the language of the day, were known as the "missing papers," and contained evidence against the Secretary. The charge was based upon a statement of Mr. Shipherd, an adventurer in the interest of the Cochet claim, who perjured himself before the committee and would have been brought to trial in all probability had he been regarded altogether in his right mind. The investigation showed that Mr. Blaine never saw the papers, and that they were not addressed to him, but to the President of the United States. The unimportance of these letters was also shown, and it was found out that

they were of a kind which were no more likely to be brought to the Secretary's attention than every check going through the bank is likely to be brought to the attention of the President; and that they had never been considered of the least consequence after Shipherd produced duplicates of them.

It went the rounds of the newspapers, and was largely discussed, that Mr. Blaine deceived President Arthur regarding the instructions to Mr. Trescot, making them much more belligerent than the President supposed them to be. Mr. Blaine read to the committee the very draft, patched with mucilage, interlined, which he had read to President Arthur in his bedroom, and which is identical with the printed instructions. After this presentation to the committee there was not a whisper on the subject from the bitterest anti-Blaine newspapers, but there was not sufficient generosity on the part of any one to retract the charge.

The accusation was put forth that Mr. Blaine, during the illness of President Garfield, usurped the functions of the dying Executive. This was the meanest of all the unfounded charges. The dates of the public correspondence show that not a letter was written by Mr. Blaine during the entire sickness of the President which it is at all likely would have been shown to him had he been well, and engaged in the discharge of his duties, with the exception perhaps, of a letter to the President of France declining his proposition for a joint convention of France and the United States in the South American difficulties. It is a good illustration of the unfairness with which Mr. Blaine was treated that this dispatch, in which he simply declined to commit the government to a course at once injudicious and un-American, has been sought as a proof that he was usurping his power during the disability of the President to initiate a bold form of policy and to secure his retention in office.

Mr. Shipherd testified that he had written a letter to Mr. Hurlbut, offering him a bribe of \$250,000, in stock, and that Mr. Blaine knew of this bribe. The testimony was disproved by Mr. Blaine by abundant documentary evidence, and it was also shown that no such letter was heard of until it appeared in print. All the testimony of Mr. Shipherd derogatory to Mr. Blaine was demonstrated to be false, and mercilessly stripped him of all his pretensions, and exposed the fact that he was a reckless adventurer and bold falsifier.

A fifth matter for investigation was that Mr. Blaine's policy toward Chili and Peru was directly in the interest of the Cochet claim. This was the whole cry at the beginning of the investigation. The list of stock-holders of the Peruvian company, when found, was to contain the name of Mr. Blaine. Mr. Shipherd's scheme was to secure American intervention between Chili and Peru to obtain recognition of a claim made by one Cochet to a third interest in the guano deposits, based on the right of discovery and an old Peruvian law. He represented a company who claimed succession to the Cochet claim through an illegitimate son. A French company, known as the Credit Industriel, also set up a claim to the Peruvian guano and nitrates. Mr. Shipherd hoped and endeavored to secure the active influence of the State Department and the American minister in favor of his Peruvian company and against the French company. In this he did not succeed, for neither one of those companies secured from the State Department or the American minister in Peru, any concession of aid or influence from the American government.

General Hurlbut having been ascertained to be a man who could not be influenced in favor of the Cochet claim, Shipherd endeavored to use his influence for the removal of the General, in the hope that some other person more tractable would be appointed Minister to Peru, that he

might use him in the interest of his claims. The instructions to Ministers Kilpatrick and Hurlbut sent on the same day, June 15th, indicated a course towards the countries represented, from which the Department did not vary so long as Mr. Blaine was at the head of it, and were sent six weeks before Mr. Blaine saw Mr. Shipherd, and then heard for the first time, as he testifies, of the Cochet claim. That claim is first mentioned by Mr. Blaine more than a month after the death of President Garfield, and five months after the appointment of Mr. Blaine as Secretary. What the Secretary did in reference to this claim may be inferred from the following letter of August 4th : "The two claims for special consideration and active intervention that have been asked are those known as the Cochet claim and the Landreau claim. In reference to the Cochet claim, there has been no information laid before the Department of a sufficiently definite character to warrant a specific instruction, and in the absence of the requisite data here, you will be left to take such steps as may seem expedient on investigation of the origin of the claim. The primal point at issue is, whether any American citizen or association of citizens has acquired an interest in the claim in a manner entitling him or them to the good offices of the government in making representations to Peru. As the American holders of the claims or their attorneys will be on the ground, you will no doubt be placed in possession of all the facts; but you will take no steps to commit your government to the use of its good offices without first reporting in full to the Department for well-considered and definite instructions."

Mr. Blaine, while Secretary of State, wrote only three other letters in which the Cochet claim was mentioned. In one of these, dated November 17th, he says: "After the instructions in my No. 7 in regard to this subject had been mailed, I became convinced that there was no need of even the preliminary inquiry which I suggested in regard to the

Cochet claim. There is no just ground whatever on which this government could intervene in behalf of it." Again, in a communication directed to General Hurlbut, November 17, referring to the probability of the Minister being asked to promote the interest of the Peruvian Company by its agents, Mr. Blaine said: "Specifically avoid any advocacy of the claims of that or any other company or individual in the pursuit of personal ends or business enterprises." Another letter of December 15th took note of the fact that Minister Hurlbut had suggested that Shipherd was perhaps not in his right mind.

In spite of evidences such as these, the enemies of Mr. Blaine persisted in charging that he was in league with the Peruvian Company, until Shipherd's extravagant perjuries involved the whole subject in ridicule. They then abandoned Shipherd entirely and retreated to the next position. This was that Mr. Blaine's policy was wholly in the interests of the Landreau claim. This charge could be substantiated only on the ground that the Cochet claim and that of Landreau were bound up together; that the titles were the same, and that the interests of the supposed claimants were identical. This was not true. Shipherd had nothing to do with the Landreau claim; he did not even know that Landreau was still alive. This charge is still held by the original owner, an American citizen, who in 1882 was Consul at Santiago de Cuba. It had been commended to the attention of Congress by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the good offices of the government in its behalf were asked by a unanimous vote of the House. Mr. Fish and others had instructed our Ministers to Peru to use their good offices to have a formal adjudication of it. Mr. Blaine did the same thing—nothing more, and nothing less.

In his note of August, 1881, to Mr. Hurlbut, the Secretary of State called attention to the course of Peru regarding jurisdiction of the Landreau claim, and said:

“In the opinion of this government, Peru is bound in duty and honor to do one of three things, viz.: Supply an impartial tribunal, or extend the jurisdiction of the present courts, or submit the case to arbitration.” Hurlbut was further instructed to see that the conclusion of peace between Peru and Chili should not impair the rights which Landreau, after a judicial investigation, should be found to possess, and that his claim should follow the territory if the latter should be transferred to Chili. In point of fact this same territory afterwards was transferred to the English bondholders, and consumed the claim of Landreau and very many other things besides. Landreau’s claim is for seven million three hundred thousand dollars. It is not a thing without substance, such as Shipherd’s claim, which was for nine hundred millions, for which he is said to have paid eleven dollars.

Whether the Landreau claim was a good one is one question ; whether our government was justified in urging the Peruvian government to adjudicate upon it, is quite another question, but there can be no doubt whatever that it was the duty of the State Department in view of the action of Congress to save the rights of Landreau to a judicial determination of his claim, when it was proposed to transfer the property in question from one government to another. In a letter of August 4th, Mr. Blaine says to General Hurlbut: “In regard to the Landreau claim, I see no reason to differ from the conclusion to which my predecessors seem to have arrived.” He then gives a history of the claim, and states that “the opinion of this government is that Landreau ought to be given a hearing, and if he be found to possess rights, no definite treaty should be made in disregard of them.”

In another communication, Mr. Blaine says: “The claim must not of course be pressed in any manner that would seem to embarrass Peru in the hour of her great distress.” He expressed the opinion that the resources of

Peru should not be exhausted in the settlement of other claims to the detriment of one belonging to an American citizen. The instructions to Mr. Trescot in a letter of December 16, states in a few terse sentences all that was ever said by Mr. Blaine regarding the Landreau claim, and disposes of a number of misrepresentations. It reads as follows :

“ While disabusing the mind of the Chilian government of any impression that the United States meditates intervention on behalf of private claims beyond the use of its good offices, you will see that justice seems to demand that Landreau should have an opportunity to be heard in support of his claim before a tribunal in Peru competent to decide it, and that if decided in his favor, a treaty of peace which might cede the territory to Chili should not be made in disregard of any rights which Mr. Landreau may be found, after an impartial investigation, to possess. Further than this, the Department of State has not felt authorized to go, and expresses the hope that the governments of Chili and Peru, to both of which you are accredited, will recognize the moderation and justice of the request made by this government.”

As a branch of this idea, it was further charged that Mr. Blaine's policy was intended to force the Landreau and Cochet claims upon Peru. The quotations just given show that the claims were treated on an entirely different basis, and were kept distinct throughout.

The Cochet claim was thrown out of Court at the beginning ; and all that was ever asked for the Landreau claim was an adjudication.

The charge went the rounds that Mr. Blaine favored annexing Peru to the United States. The evidence in regard to all these questions showed that the charges were groundless, and if not originated for the purpose of injuring Mr. Blaine, could have no special meaning save that of creating a sensation. On the subject of annexing

Peru, Mr. Blaine once informally said : "Why, you might as well talk of annexing Terra del Fuego or the Island of Juan Fernandez to this country. Mr. Christiancy mentioned some such thing as being desired in Peru, but I never thought it of sufficient consequence or importance to call for any comment. It was merely a despairing cry upon the part of the down-trodden Peruvians. My dispatches on the Isthmian Canal question, by order of the President, disclaimed for the United States any desire to territorial acquisition in Mexico or Central America. It never occurred to me that annexation of South American territory called for a disclaimer."

Other charges similar to these, and involving the same ideas could be multiplied at length, but these are sufficient to show the nature of the investigation and the fairness of Mr. Blaine's defense. When the first portion of these charges appeared, a Washingtonian who was not a partisan of Mr. Blaine, said that they had the look to him of "violent inferences." This phrase is a description of every charge that was made against the ex-Secretary. They have all been "violent inferences," from a man who was engaged in attending to his business in a straightforward, successful and business-like way. In connection with the same matter, Mr. Trescot wrote a letter to clear up certain points in the South American diplomacy. He said :

YORK, ME., July 17, 1882.

To the Honorable James G. Blaine: Dear Sir—I am in receipt of yours asking me, as late special envoy of the United States to the belligerents in South America, to state my knowledge of certain matters connected with your administration as Secretary of State. First: From your formal instructions to me and in personal consultations that you had with me before my departure on that mission, I have never been able to see that there was any ground for misunderstanding or misconstruing your position in regard to the Credit Industriel. It has been consistent throughout, as I understood it. You have always expressed yourself to me as desirous that the Credit Indus-

riel might, if possible, be made useful to Peru in her distress; but you are entirely unwilling that the United States should make the programme of that company part of our own negotiations, or should assume to guarantee any arrangement which it might make with the Peruvian government. You did not favor the project of a protectorate over any part of South America.

Your idea was to leave Peru free to negotiate with the *Credit Industriel*, and you instructed General Hurlbut, and afterwards myself, to report the result of such negotiations to the Department. What action might lie beyond was necessarily for the decision of the government, and its policy would, in all probability, have depended largely upon the report made by its ministers. As a matter of fact, neither General Hurlbut nor myself was ever called upon to take any action in regard to the *Credit Industriel* during our respective missions in South America.

Second: As to your designing war, that supposition is too absurd for serious consideration. If you had any such purpose, it was carefully concealed from me, and I left for South America with the impression that I would completely fail in my mission if I should not succeed in obtaining an amicable settlement of the differences between the belligerents. You will allow me to add that I would have declined the mission if I had thought otherwise. As I understood you, your object was, by a friendly solution of existing difficulties, to prepare the way for a meeting of the Peace Congress at Washington, when you hoped to establish such relations between the republics of the two Americas as would prevent the possibility of a future war. But for the strange misconception, for which I cannot account, and which reached the misled Chilian Cabinet through some of the leading influential papers of the United States, I believe my purpose would have been accomplished under your instructions.

Third: In regard to the Cochet and Landreau claims, it is sufficient to say that you rejected the first absolutely, and as to the second you instructed General Hurlbut to ask, if the proper time for such request should come, that Landreau should be heard before a Peruvian tribunal in support of his claim, and that in case of a peace providing for the cession of Peruvian territory, the condition of his claim should be brought to the attention of Chili and Peru. This instruction, as stated in your dispatch, was made in view of the fact that numerous claims of Europeans for frivolous amounts were being pressed, and you were anxious, as you expressed it, that the resources of Peru should not be exhausted in the settlement of claims of foreigners to the prejudice of one belonging to an American citizen.

This notification would not have interposed an obstacle to the conclusion of a treaty of peace, but would have simply signified to both parties that these provisions could not put aside any rights which Landreau might be found to possess after an impartial judicial investigation. Under the restrictions of these instructions, General Hurlbut, although approving the justice of Landreau's claim, in his dispatch of September 14, 1881, never brought it in any way to the consideration of the Peruvian government. During my mission in South America I never referred to it. So that in point of fact, during your secretaryship, the Landreau claim was never mentioned either to the Chilian government or the Peruvian government by the minister of the United States. It could not, therefore, have affected the diplomatic questions in the remotest degree.

Yours very truly and faithfully,

WILLIAM H. TRESBOT.

This investigation was very advantageous to Mr. Blaine. The reflections which Shipherd made by innuendo upon the Secretary of State proved to be the means of clearing up the whole Peruvian business more quickly and more thoroughly than could have been hoped for from any other source. Mr. Blaine brushed away the charges and presented the case in a nutshell; Shipherd was the charlatan whose pretenses were repudiated from the first at the State Department; they never had a footing in government considerations, and his statements of intimate important interviews and confidential communications were entirely false. His claim was instantly recognized at its true value by the State Department, and his name was soon stricken from the roll of privileged attorneys. He had an illegitimate claim, coming from an illegitimate son, transferred for a trifling consideration to an American, with an illegitimate purpose. There was not the slightest intention on the part of anybody to give his extravagant scheme the backing of government authority. An extended review of all the features of the investigation will show that Mr. Blaine's defense of himself against these charges was greatly to his credit, and derogatory to those who had undertaken the crusade,

BLAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Early in March of 1882, a debate in the House of Representatives on diplomatic affairs proved to be one of the most interesting incidents of that session of Congress. The most significant feature about it was the evident disposition of the Democrats to applaud the foreign policy of ex-Secretary Blaine. This retired diplomat commanded the situation. His foreign policy was not only approved of by his friends, but also by his opponents. Strenuous efforts were made by the supporters of the Administration to harmonize the policy of the new Secretary with the one that had just retired, the statement being that there was no definite change of policy, but that the new Secretary was only waiting time for deliberation. Notwithstanding the many attempts made by the traducers of Mr. Blaine to show that his diplomatic relations were improper, nevertheless the fact was soon developed that the policy was consistent throughout, and in accordance with the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, the commercial interests of the country, and the sentiment of the American people.

Ex-President Hayes had declared the position of the United States in a special message, and Congress had re-asserted by a formal resolution the claim of our government to the control of any inter-oceanic highway or waterway that might be constructed. The question re-appeared under Mr. Blaine's administration of the State Department. There was an effort looking to the joint guarantee of the neutrality of the Isthmian Canal by the European powers. Blaine protested against such action on the part of his government. If he had not done this he would have been untrue to his trust, and there would be nothing left to the Monroe doctrine short of high sounding words. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was cited as a barrier to exclusive American protection over the Isthmian Canal, and the answer was that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was a mistake in this

respect, and should be modified. There could be no other reply consistent with the position which had been taken by the American President and the American Congress.

Mr. Blaine should not be charged with unworthy political motives, because he was able, bold, and effective in defending the American idea. The war between Chili and Peru likewise turned upon the vindication of the United States government's paramount influence upon the American continent. The war between Chili and Peru was ended. Great Britain was the creditor of Chili and saw a chance to secure its debt by the confiscation of Peruvian wealth, and Chili was a willing tool in the transaction. Our government could not be expected to view so gross an injustice with indifference. Secretary Blaine protested on the principle of comity and humanity against further persecution of Peru in the interests of robbery, and that protest would have been effectual had it not been withdrawn by his successor. Any representation in regard to the Landreau claim was merely incidental to the general policy that Chili could not assume to deprive Peru of all jurisdiction over its own affairs, nor to exclude from proper consideration any claim which should be made by an American citizen simply on the ground that Peru had been conquered, robbed, and annihilated.

Those who suppose for one moment that Mr. Blaine is to be injured in the eyes of the American people by going to the rescue of a weak and outraged people, or by defending American rights, or by an effort to block England's way to supremacy in South American affairs, very much mistake the temper of the American people. The movement for a Peace Congress was not belligerent ; it was the last thing that could result in war ; it was the last thing calculated to bring about a conflict between Peru and the United States ; and our government could not be in danger of an attack, because Mr. Blaine proposed that all the governments of this continent should consult as to the best

means for maintaining peace for the common interests of humanity, and the material prosperity of all concerned. All these things demonstrated very clearly that Mr. Blaine was consistent and firm of purpose from the first, while his critics were vacillating, unreasonable and unjust.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HISTORIAN AND PRIVATE CITIZEN.

“TWENTY YEARS IN CONGRESS.”

IN 1884 the public was presented with the first volume of Mr. Blaine's history, entitled “Twenty Years in Congress,” a work that is to cover, when completed, the period from Lincoln to Garfield, with a review of the events which led to the political revolution of 1860. This work, in the language of a reviewer, may be called the biography of the American people, abstract questions and individuals, and indeed everything, being subordinated in the effort to give to the public a clear and strong picture of the life of our country. Their times of indecision and of swift and heroic resolution; their days of timidity and weak compromising with wrong; their grand endurance and unflinching fidelity when the crisis at last appeared; their singular sagacity in decisions of vital moment—all these are portrayed in Mr. Blaine's narrative with clearness and power. The story he tells in his first volume is given with the simplicity and directness of a trained journalist, and yet with sufficient fullness to make the picture distinct and clear in almost every detail. The book is as easy to read as a well-written novel. It is interesting, and commands attention throughout, the more from the absence of anything like oratorical display or form.

The history of Mr. Blaine in its main feature is one of universal value. It is beyond criticism in literary polish, and is noted for its clearness and force of style. The work is of great import in its broad and comprehensive appreciation of the forces by which the development of

public opinion has been effected. The arrangement of the first volume favors the compact and intelligent treatment of a many-sided subject. The first eight chapters review the main question out of which developed the civil war, and the political revolution of 1860. Many of the problems with which the National Legislature had to deal afterwards could not have been treated with wisdom by lawyers, nor intelligently by the historian, except in the light of a double conflict between the slave power and anti-slavery, hostile political forces. By careful tracing of the causes which had made slavery what it was, and public opinion in regard to slavery what it was, the history of the war is rendered far more compact and clear. Closely allied with the main cause of war, the tariff question is reviewed in chapter nine. The following chapter begins with the election of 1860, and the events of the wonderful history from the administration of Lincoln to that of Garfield are there evolved mainly in chronological order. Chapters eighteen and nineteen consider the financial history of the war, the levying of taxes and the creation of legal tender notes. The United States banks and the State banks of the ante-war period are contrasted in chapter twenty-second, with the system of national banks. Its creation is fully described. The relations between the United States and foreign powers during the war of the Rebellion are treated in the last part of the book.

While engaged in writing, he has lived with the greatest simplicity, retiring early so as to devote the forenoon of his days to literary work. He has persistently followed a most rigid system regarding his hours, not being visible to callers any day until two o'clock in the afternoon. After that time he has devoted himself to social talk, writing, driving, and light reading. He has found a strange pleasure in the duty of writing his book. He has been all his life a student of American history. No other man in the country is so familiar with the growth

and progress of his own country as ex-Secretary Blaine. It is a matter of great pride to him that his first volume of history has not as yet had any of its facts questioned. It is his idea that a man who writes history should have no other object than a faithful recital of facts connected with the period which he is seeking to describe.

AT HOME.

Mr. Blaine resides in Augusta, near the State House, in a plain two-story dwelling. At his home he is a man of culture and refinement, a pleasant host, and a courteous gentleman. There is no man in public life who is more fortunate in his domestic relations; he is the companion and confidant of every one of his six children, and they fear him, it is said, no more than they fear one of their own number. Mrs. Blaine is a model wife and mother, and much is due to her strong judgment, quick perception, and heroic courage. Walker Blaine, a graduate of Yale college, and of the law school of Columbia college, is the eldest son. He is a member of the bar in several States, and has been engaged in public life in Washington city. Emmons Blaine, a graduate of Harvard college, and of the Cambridge law school, is the second son. The third son is James G. Blaine, Jr., a lad fourteen years old. The names of the three daughters are, Alice, Margaret, and Harriet. More than a year ago the eldest was married to J. J. Coppinger, of the United States army. Mr. Blaine is very happy in his family. Unless invited out to a dinner or social gathering, he is always at home. He is a member of no club, and keeps more to himself than a man of his social instincts would be expected to.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MR. BLAINE.

Mr. Blaine has a great fund of anecdotes which he uses in most appropriate ways on almost every occasion. He is a man of good temper and temperament, though with a

certain intellectual vehemence that sometimes might be mistaken for anger; of strong physique, wonderful powers of endurance and of recuperation; of great activity and industry; cordial and frank, easily approachable and ready to aid all good causes with tongue, pen and purse. His studies have been largely on political questions and political history. Everything connected with the development of the country interests him, and he is a dangerous antagonist in any matter of American history, especially of our country since the adoption of the National Constitution. He is an intense believer in the American Republic, as one and indivisible, a jealous watcher of her honor, her dignity and her right of eminent domain; ready to brave the wrath of the East for the welfare of the West, as in the Chinese question; and ready to differ from political friends rather than permit the indefinite suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. He willingly braved the wrath of conservatives in support of the Southern ex-slaves as was instanced in his opposition to President Hayes' Southern policy.

His knowledge of facts, dates, events, men and history is not only remarkable, but almost unprecedented. In his college days he was noted for his love of American history, and he had great knowledge of its details. He has enlarged upon this field of reading in his advanced years, until it is difficult to find a man in the United States who can instantly, without reference to note or book, give so many facts and statistics bearing upon our financial and revenue system, on our river and harbor improvements, our public lands, our railway system, our minerals, our mines, our agricultural interests, and in fact on everything that tends toward developing the interests of the United States. His memory is an encyclopædia, and he remembers, because it is easier to do this than to forget. "I was raised a boy with Mr. Blaine," said Mayor Ephraim Jones, the Democratic politician, "but he

went South and I came to Pittsburgh. I had not seen him for thirty years, and would not have known him if I had seen him, and, of course, would not expect him to remember that I had ever existed. But I learned something about his memory. When Mr. Blaine visited Pittsburgh a couple of years ago, I went to call on him. The room was full of men, but I had no difficulty in picking out the man who was the center of attraction. I walked up to him, but before I got there he held out his hand and saluted me with, 'Hello, Ephraim! how are you?' Blessed if he hadn't recollected me for thirty years! Not only that, but he spoke of occurrences of our boyhood, and remembered the members of our family and inquired after them."

"In 1863 I wrote," said one, "for the New York *Herald* an account, some twelve columns long, of the battle of Chickamauga. About twenty lines of the entire account were devoted to the narration of a trifling incident. A white pigeon or dove, confused by the smoke of the last desperate combat, at the close of the battle in which George H. Thomas repulsed Longstreet's attack on his right, fluttered awhile over the heads of Thomas, Garfield, Wood and others, grouped in a little hollow in the field for protection from the rebel sharpshooters, and then perched on the limb of a dead tree just above them. Here it sat until the firing ceased, and then flew northward unhurt. It was a pretty incident, and of course I took all the license of a writer and made it as striking a passage of the narrative as I could. In 1874, eleven years later, I was a witness before a congressional committee, and while in the Capitol one day was introduced by Zebulon L. White to Mr. Blaine, who was at the time Speaker of the House. If I remember rightly I had never before seen him, and I supposed he had never heard of me. Imagine my astonishment then when he said abruptly on hearing my name called by Mr. White: 'You're the man I've been wanting to see for

ten years.' Of course I was immensely flattered by such a notice.

“‘I’ve been wanting to know if you were telling the truth or lying,’ Mr. Blaine added, almost without pause. This was as surprising as it was blunt. He took my arm and drew me half-away to one side of the corridor. ‘Did you write for the *Herald* an account of Chickamauga in which a white dove figured rather poetically?’ he asked, and then went on to recall what I had written. ‘Now,’ he continued, ‘tell me, was that a true incident or only done to make the story readable?’ I assured him it was true, and then mentioned that General Garfield, who was in the House, would probably recall it, as he was present. Nothing more of interest passed between us; but naturally I have since sworn by the man who could recall my unknown name and what I had written about a mere incident occurring ten years before. He was so earnest in his inquiry that I have never doubted that his curiosity in the matter, small as the incident was, was genuine.”

Mr. Blaine, being simple and unaffected, in manner is essentially democratic. In all of the various periods of his career he has never shown any pride of place; harboring few if any resentments, he does not believe in the statesmanship of revenge. Upon this topic he once said, “Life is too short to lie in wait for personal retaliation for injuries received; if you can strike out a good strong blow at the time, well and good, but the world moves too fast for one to waste his life in waiting an opportunity to gratify mere personal revenge.” He has never been at the head of any stock enterprise gotten up to swindle investors. He has violated no trust funds, and has wrecked no one’s property with which he has been connected. Being known as a most excellent business man, and having had an extensive experience, the public expect from him greater circumspection in business management than from the average public man. His present fortune is one

that has been the subject of considerable comment and much exaggeration. He is undoubtedly in easy circumstances, because he has enjoyed for years a liberal income from his Pennsylvania coal property; and, what is strange to say, he is one of the few men in the world who says that his income is all that he wants. He is never avaricious, nor is he lavish in expending funds, but seems to have joined the liberal and hospitable free-handedness of the West with the conservative carefulness of the East. His style of living is comfortable but not extravagant.

He is now in the vigor and prime of life, having attained his fifty-fourth year of age; his eyes are keen and clear, and his voice is as ringing, deep and strong as it was in his palmiest days as an orator. On retiring from the cabinet, he did not drop into obscurity, but held his own in the public mind, as no statesman ever had before without the artificial aid of official position. Instead of resting in his retired condition, he, with the energy of genius, discovered a new field to conquer. In the brief period of one year he has, in the hard and untried path of literature, accomplished as valiant a success as has ever fallen to his lot in politics. His political history will do more to make his name memorable than all other acts of his varied public career. Relegated to private life by the hand of an assassin, Mr. Blaine did not despair as many ordinary men would, with faint-heartedness and resignation, but he took on new courage and rose unexpectedly in a still higher estimation of the people. The best thing about Mr. Blaine is that he is an American and a Republican in the best sense of the word. He is the man of to-day who pre-eminently represents the American idea, and is, since the days of Pierce's administration, the first American statesman, who, in a responsible position in the government, has dared to assert the national attitude becoming fifty millions of people.

Mr. Blaine has a popular hold upon the people, sur-

passing anything produced in the history of modern politics. There is nothing negative about him; neither can you remain neutral with him. Either you are very much in his favor or very much against him. Even his enemies who fight him the hardest secretly admire his brilliant abilities. He is an antagonist who grows on opposition. His individuality pervades the Nation, and he has more power to secure a devoted following than any other member of the Republican party. Being in the prime of his intellectual growth, in strong and vigorous health, he has a magnetic power that is very great over every one with whom he comes in contact. He is so many-sided as to be classed as a man of genius. He is a student of history, a wide reader of literature, a successful financier, a polished orator, a thorough man of the world, and a complete master of the art of pleasing, in a social way. He has few equals as a conversationalist, and having a keen appreciation of fun, can tell a story with wonderful simplicity.

His ability to entertain the private circle as well as an audience in public indicates that he has great power as an actor. Though a good talker he is quite willing to listen when anyone has anything to say, and never appears more at his best than when he is taking part in a running conversation of sharp and sprightly talk. In the house of Mr. Blaine, his dinner table is the place where the gayest of good-natured talk reigns supreme. From six to eight o'clock the dinner speeds under cover of running talk upon the incidents of the day.

One finds much to admire in his varied information, his social culture, his power and individuality as a statesman in the fullest sense of the word. On account of this, one is constantly turned in the direction of extravagant eulogy. It is said that if a person wishes to be his enemy, he must keep away from him, beyond the reach of his voice, and close his eyes and ears to everything but the

ancient stories of his former enemies, many of whom are his friends to-day.

ORATION ON GARFIELD.

Mr. Blaine was selected by Congress to pronounce a formal eulogy upon President Garfield, February 17, 1882, before President Arthur and his Cabinet, both Houses of Congress, the Supreme Court, the various Legations, and an audience of ladies and gentlemen, which crowded the Hall of Representatives. The orator, with entire self-abnegation and reserve, but with a firm touch, and in a style which rose at times to easy eloquence, assigned to President Garfield his true place in history. "Few men would have had the courage or the skill to eliminate so completely from a life-sketch of a dead friend any personal element. There was no Marc Antony on this occasion; yet Blaine himself must have often echoed the words of Cæsar's panegyrist, 'Then you, and I, and all of us fell down.'" This address must be considered beyond question as the most masterly and the most beautiful of all the tributes which have yet been paid to the life and memory of the illustrious dead. He joined to a warmth of sentiment which might have been expected from a personal friend and admirer, the cool, clear analysis of the accurate observer of human nature. But the affection engendered by personal intercourse is not allowed to carry the speaker into rhapsodies on the one hand, and extravagant partisanship on the other. In its literary style it is clear, concise and thoughtful, powerfully written, calmly stated, and at times bright in peroration and glowingly eloquent. It is a compact, symmetrical sketch which will long survive the occasion upon which it was pronounced. And it is not too much to claim that portions of it will pass into our literature, as choice specimens of American oratory. What tenderer or more beautiful words have been spoken of him than the following closing statements of the oration:

“As the end drew near his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him a wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls ; from its oppressive, stifling air; from its homelessness and its hopelessness.

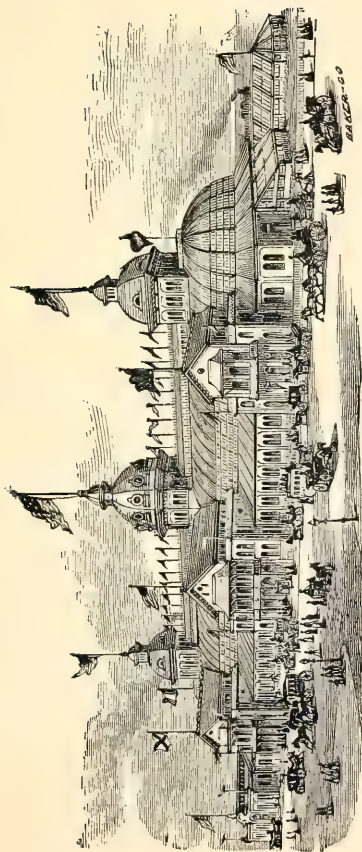
“Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will. Within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices, with wan, fevered face, tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean’s changing wonders and its fair sails whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noon-day sun ; on the red clouds of evening, reaching low to the horizon ; on the serene, shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read the mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world, he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and he felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.”

CHAPTER XII.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO,
JUNE 3d, 1884.

THE city of Chicago, for several days preceding the Republican National Convention, was the scene of wild political excitement and confusion, more so than had been witnessed for many years. In the hotels and at other places of public resort which were the head-quarters of the several State delegations, vigorous efforts in the interests of favored candidates were carried on in the most aggressive manner. The National Committee, in accordance with the general custom, selected a candidate as temporary chairman of the convention, and their choice fell upon the Hon. Powell Clayton, of Arkansas. It was claimed that Mr. Clayton, although he had been elected as an Arthur delegate, would be chosen in the interest of Mr. Blaine. However this may be, the selection was distasteful to a majority of the delegates, and many of them were persistent in advocating the claims of their favorites, various reasons being given in support of the new names suggested. As the result of the thorough canvass of the opposition, the Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, was presented to the convention, and on the third of June, the date of assembling, was elected by a vote of 431 to 387 for Mr. Clayton. Aside from this, nothing of importance was transacted the first day.

The succeeding day, Mr. Hawkins, of Tennessee, presented a resolution, which pledged every member of the convention to support the nominee, and declared that no man ought to hold a seat who was unwilling to subscribe to that pledge. The resolution met with such opposition that it was ultimately withdrawn by the mover, and the



EXPOSITION BUILDING, CHICAGO, ILL.

Where the National Convention of the Republican Party was held
June 3 to 7, 1884.

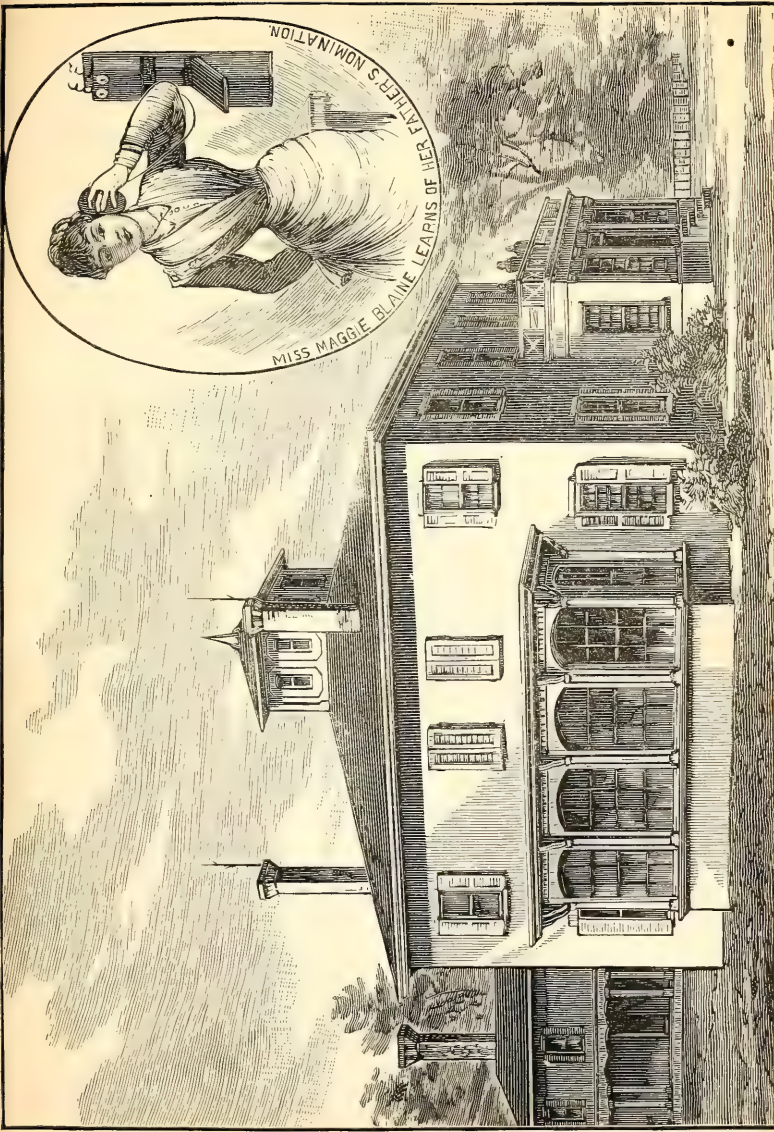


convention proceeded to the work of permanent organization. General Williams, of Indiana, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, presented the name of the Hon. J. G. Henderson, of Missouri, for the position of permanent Chairman, and after a few objections having been made and answered, the report was agreed to by a *viva voce* vote, very few voices being heard in the negative. When Mr. Henderson was conducted to the chair, he delivered a brief speech, in which he very gracefully alluded to the leading candidates before the convention. His reference to Mr. Edmunds was received with silence; the name of the President elicited hearty applause. When the name of Mr. Blaine was mentioned it fell upon the audience as an electric shock, and was the signal for a perfect cyclone of voices. The storm died away and returned; again subsided and returned the third time. The Committee on Rules not being ready to report, the convention adjourned without transacting any business of special note.

The first action of the third day was the report of the Committee on Credentials, which favored the sitting delegates in all the districts except the Albany District in New York and the Fourth District in Kentucky. These were divided among the contestants, half a vote in the convention being allowed to each man. The report of the committee was unanimously adopted. Following this was the reading of the report of the Committee on Rules. Its main points were, that the previous question could be moved when called for by a majority vote in any State delegation, seconded by two other States, and sanctioned by the majority of the convention; the roll call might be had at the request of any two States; the vote in each State was to be announced by its Chairman; no one was allowed to speak more than once on a question aside from the nomination of candidates, and not longer than five minutes; the National Committee was to be empowered to select a method for the election of delegates to the next

National Convention. A substitute was offered by Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, proposing that the delegates be elected by Congressional Districts as heretofore. He did not wish that the National Convention should choose the manner of their selection; he thought the people alone ought to select them. This proposition was agreed to.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was next in order. A platform which met the hearty approbation of the Republican party was unanimously approved. After the adoption of the platform the nominations for members of the National Committee were made, and the convention adjourned until evening, when the names of the candidates were presented. During the evening session every seat was filled; the galleries were packed closely and the atmosphere was heated. Five thousand fans were waving in the mellow gaslight "like leaves in a grove of palmettos," and twelve thousand faces were turned eagerly toward the stage, waiting for the opening of the great struggle. The roll call of States proceeded in alphabetical order, beginning with Alabama. General Hawley was the first to be nominated as a candidate. Following him came Illinois, with the name of Senator Logan. The presentation of his name elicited hearty applause. When the State of Maine was called a perfect tornado of applause broke forth, and for a time the uproar was deafening. Judge West, "the blind man eloquent" of Ohio, then nominated Mr. Blaine in a speech of impassioned fervor. On mentioning the name of his candidate, the applause broke forth with wild enthusiasm; the festooned flags were torn from the State coats-of-arms on the galleries, and wildly waved to and fro. The convention rose en masse and such rounds and storms of enthusiasm were not heard in the city since the nomination of James A. Garfield. Men got up, took off their coats, and pulled down the flags and banners that draped the gallery rails. These stars and stripes were given to the ladies, who waved them as long



JAMES G. BLAINE'S RESIDENCE, AUGUSTA, MAINE.

Drawn by our Special Artist.



as their strength lasted. Umbrellas were raised, whistles and shouts rent the building and reached the throng out on the street.

The great staff of patrolmen and police were set aside, and thousands of men and boys scaled the balconies, and not only filled every window but opened those that were closed, and lent their fresh lungs to the tired throats in the house.

The ladies at this moment sent greetings to the "Plumed Knight, the champion of the land that above all lands champions and respects the cause of women."

The tribute consisted of a helmet made of pink and white roses, over which waved a plume of white yak hair. Bands of red, white, and blue satin strings finished the typical design. This was seized by a Chicago *Tribune* man and hoisted on the apex of one of the American flags in sight of the yelling crowd. The sight of it renewed the people to louder and longer plaudits, and it was more than half an hour before the sightless orator could finish his remarks.

The uproar within the building was to the multitude outside like the smell of blood to the tiger. It maddened them with an uncontrollable desire to see and hear what was going on. The iron chains that protected the doors alone prevented them from forcing an entrance. Hundreds scaled the telegraph poles, and gaining the eaves of the building opened the windows and stretched themselves out half-suspended over the vast assemblage within.

Hearty cheering and enthusiasm were evoked by the nomination of President Arthur. He was presented to the convention by Mr. Martin I. Townsend, in a forcible speech, but with less eloquence than that which Judge West has thrown into his fiery oration. Senator Sherman's name was presented by Judge Foraker, and the name of Senator Edmunds by Governor Long, seconded by Mr. George Wm. Curtis. The convention adjourned late at

night to meet the following day. At ten o'clock on Friday morning thousands of people were waiting, and the struggle for admission was greater than on any previous occasion. By the time Mr. Henderson took the chair every seat was filled. The balloting was begun without delay. It was soon seen that the solid phalanx for Mr. Blaine was to encounter a scattered and unorganized opposition, and by the time the third ballot was taken the nomination of the Maine statesman was a foregone conclusion. The following is a summary of the various votes :

CANDIDATES.	BALLOTS.			
	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.
James G. Blaine	334½	349	375	541
Chester A. Arthur	278	276	274	207
George F. Edmunds.....	93	85	69	41
John A. Logan	63½	61	53	7
John Sherman.....	30	28	25	.....
Joseph R. Hawley	13	13	13	15
Robert T. Lincoln	4	4	8	2
William T. Sherman.....	2	2	2	.....
Total vote.....	818	818	819	813
Necessary to a choice.....	410	410	410	407

When the fourth ballot was taken it was followed by another storm of applause. Mr. Barlow, of New York, moved that the nomination be made unanimous. Herein Mr. Blaine received the recognition he has so long deserved, and with his success has come the triumph of a life which unites in itself correct principles, broad intellectual and moral development and energetic, well-directed effort.

There was something in what is termed the "magnetism" of Blaine. Even the day before the nomination there were many who *felt* that he would be the choice, and but few of them could give any logical reason for their conclusion. They knew it from some intangible, indefinable assertion that came to them and made its

meaning known through some subtle sympathy. For two days it was evident that the great majority of the vast crowds that filled the auditorium of the hall were in active sympathy with the "Man from Maine."

The greater portion of the enormous mass that gathered in the hall of the Exposition Building found itself pervaded with this mysterious influence. Thousands who knew Mr. Blaine scarcely more than by name were among those who were readiest to cheer when his name was mentioned, and to hope ardently for his success at every step of the tedious march of the processes of the convention.

It would almost seem that had the delegates who preferred some other one to Blaine been even more numerous than they were, they would have been forced to yield to the tremendous influence which pervaded the human atoms of the vast body of the people which dominated and enveloped them.

The flutter of the units compacted in the building showed the existence of the magnetic forces which emanate from the great intellectual dynamo-machine in Maine. At no moment were they at rest. When the name of Blaine was called by the chairman of a delegation as he gave the ballot of his State, there was a round of cheers. When there was a change whereby he gained a vote, there was an inundation of enthusiastic satisfaction. When the condition of the balloting showed that his nomination was reasonably certain, the whole audience rose to their feet and shook the earth with applause, and hid themselves behind clouds of waving handkerchiefs and gaudy banners. When he was finally officially announced as nominated, words fail to express the intensity and extent of the mighty outburst of enthusiasm. Having taken a recess until evening, the convention met and nominated General John A. Logan for Vice-President, and the Republican Convention of 1884 then adjourned,

James G. Blaine and General John A. Logan being the standard-bearers of the Republican party for 1884.

SPEECH OF JUDGE WEST NOMINATING JAMES G. BLAINE.

Gentlemen of the Convention: As a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired Emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. Four and twenty years of the grandest history in the annals of recorded time have distinguished the ascendancy of the Republican party. The skies have lowered; reverses have threatened; our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency; not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendancy depends on the action of this great council. With bated breath the Nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. On it, or to it, are stretched forth the imploring hands of ten millions of political bondmen in the South; while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the immortal spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory and bade it godspeed. Six times—in six campaigns—has that banner triumphed. That symbol of union, of freedom, of humanity, and of progress, some time borne by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms, Ulysses the Great, and last by him whose untimely taking-off the Nation bewailed and wept above great Garfield's grave. Shall that banner triumph again? Commit it to the bearing of that chief— * . * * * * *

* * * * * Commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men and stir the blood of our manhood and fervid veterans. The close of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise. Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of struggling freedom and bleeding humanity, which convulsed the continent and racked the Republic, united, inspired the forces, the patriotism, and the force of humanity in one consolidated phalanx. These great issues have ceased their contention; the subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead issues of the past. The odds of a Solid South are against us. Not an electoral gun can be expected from that section. If triumph come, the North—the Republican States of the North—must furnish the conquering battalion; from the farm, the anvil, and the loom; from the mine, the workshop and the desk; from the huts

of the trapper on snowy Sierra, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson. As the Republican States must furnish this conquering battalion, if triumphant, does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero, whom the souls of the people desire to serve, swelling the lines with the enthusiasm of volunteers as they sweep on and onward to certain victory? In this contention of forces, to whom as a candidate shall be entrusted our battle flag? Citizens, I am not here to—and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I—abate one tittle from the just fame, integrity, and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President.

I abate not one tittle from the just fame and Republican integrity of George F. Edmunds, of Joseph R. Hawley, of John Sherman, of that grand old Black Eagle of Illinois; and I am proud to know that these distinguished Senators whom I have named have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character and the public integrity of him for whose confirmation they voted to the high office, second in dignity to the office of the President himself—the first Premiership in the administration of James A. Garfield. The man for whom these Senators and rivals will vote for Secretary of State of the United States is good enough for the plain flesh-and blood God's people to vote for for President. Who shall be our candidate?

Not the representative of a particular interest or a particular class, send the great apostle to the country. Name the doctor's candidate, the lawyer's candidate, the banker's candidate, the Wall street candidate, and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave. Sir, he must be a representative of American manhood, a representative of that leading Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection, and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved of mendicant competition with pauper Europe or pagan China. He must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political as well as personal emancipation and disenthralment of mankind; a representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege and consideration, at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the palmetto, under the pelican or on the banks of the Mohawk; that Republicanism that regards with detestation a despotism which under the "sic semper tyrannis" of the Old Dominion, annihilates by slaughter in the name of Democracy; a Republicanism that is embodied and stated in the platform of prin-

ciples this day adopted by your convention. Gentlemen, such a Republican is James G. Blaine, of Maine.

[The immense concourse then broke out into great and prolonged applause, continuing nearly half an hour.]

Gentlemen of the convention, it has been urged that in making this nomination every other consideration should merge, every other interest be sacrificed, in order and with a view exclusively to securing the Republican vote and carrying the State of New York. Gentlemen, the Republican party demands of this convention a nominee who has inspiration, a glorious prestige which shall gain the Presidency with or without New York; who will carry the Legislatures of the several States and avert the sacrifice of the United States Senate; who shall sweep into the tide, Congressional Districts sufficient to recover the House of Representatives and restore it to the Republican party. Three millions of Republicans believe that that man who, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, in all that struggle of manhood and progress wherever humanity desired succor, wherever freedom called for protection, wherever the country called for a defender, or wherever blows fall thickest and fastest, there in the forefront of the battle was seen to wave the white plume of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre.

Nominate him, and the results of a September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the camp-fires and beacon-lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's Needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on.

In the name of a majority of the delegates from the Republican States and their glorious constituencies who must fight this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine, of Maine.

NOMINATION SECONDED BY GOVERNOR DAVIS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: In face of the demonstration which we have seen and heard it would seem scarcely necessary to second a nomination which appears already to be a foregone conclusion. But in the name of the people of Minnesota it gives me the greatest pleasure to second the nomination of James G. Blaine, who has never been defeated by the people; who has borne his great faculties so nobly year after year, in success and adversity; who has grown so completely into the affections of the

people of this country that at this moment he is in his own person, and without doubt, the embodiment and definition of their choice for President of the United States. This preference is not the growth of any locality or of any one idea. It springs not from any cold calculation of expediency, although it is coincident with the highest expediency—the expediency of success. It is the majestic voice of 3,000,000 of the great party of the Union, of national progress, which emancipated man, which raised the country from the hell of a civil war and made it so great that no foreign foe nor domestic faction can ever affect it while it stands secure upon the eternal basis of right wherein it has been placed.

Mr. Blaine is not the man of any State. He has grown far beyond that. To-day his persistent popularity, his magnificent personal traits, his unflinching tact, his unswerving loyalty to his party, and his commanding statesmanship are felt and honored in every community from Maine to California, from Minnesota to Florida. Without the aid of that thing called organization, without self-seeking, without combination, without any such condition to his success as the ruin of any other man, he stands here to-day with all these attributes, and the people of this country ask this convention to gratify their twice defeated desire. He stands upon the friendship and confidence of Garfield, and when the life of the Nation seemed to be ebbing away with the spirit of the great son of Ohio, when all the functions of government were languid, when business men felt the need of security, it was upon the arm of the great Secretary that the Nation leaned, because it was in him that the Nation believed.

He has conducted our foreign affairs so as to make us respected abroad, and that, too, upon principles almost coeval with the foundations of the government. He has undergone defeat in two conventions and risen from each with greater strength than before. The campaigns which followed were most momentous and imperiled the very existence of the party. Did he sulk in his tent in the apathy of disappointed ambition? No, he rose upon the ruins of his adversity and made them the monuments of his glory. He led his competitors through the arch of triumph to the White House. No word from him that the nomination was unfortunate. No auspices from him of want of success. But then this man from Maine came forward with all his armament like a magnificent war vessel, every pennant flying, every sail set, every man at his post, and every gun thundering from its sides. This is the man, faithful to all trusts, superior to any fortune, beloved as no American statesman has ever been, whom we present for your suffrages.

NOMINATION SECONDED BY THOMAS C. PLATT.

The Chairman introduced the Hon. Thomas C. Platt, of New York, who spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention, I rise with pleasure to second the nomination of James G. Blaine.

I second this nomination, believing, as I do, that expediency and justice demand it; believing, as I do, that the Republican people of the Republican States that must give the Republican majorities want him; believing, as I do, that he is the representative of that strong, stern, stalwart Republicanism which will surely command success; believing, as I do, that with him for our standard-bearer, success is surely assured; believing in my inmost heart that with him as our standard-bearer, success is assured in the great State of New York.

Fellow-delegates, friends of James G. Blaine, stand firm, stay solid, with steady step and strong purpose, and victory is ours, now and in November.



John A. Logan

LIFE OF GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN.

CHAPTER XIII.

LOGAN, THE CIVILIAN.

PARENTAGE.

JOHAN ALEXANDER LOGAN was born February 9, 1826, at Murphysboro, Jackson county, Illinois. His father, Dr. John Logan, came to the United States from the north of Ireland about the year 1818, and settled in the State of Missouri where he married a French lady, the daughter of one of the prominent early French colonists. By this marriage, he had one daughter who is still living. Upon the death of his first wife, Dr. Logan moved to Illinois, and settled at the old town of Brownsville, the county-seat of Jackson county, where he practiced his profession and was one of the most popular and successful physicians and surgeons in southern Illinois. It was at Brownsville that Dr. Logan first met Miss Elizabeth Jenkins, whom he afterward married. She was the daughter of one of the pioneer families of Jackson county. Her relatives were sturdy, influential people, who exercised great influence in the development of the country and the promotion of its general welfare. Her brother, Hon. A. M. Jenkins, was a prominent lawyer, and became Lieutenant-Governor of the State of Illinois.

After his marriage with Miss Jenkins, Dr. Logan established himself upon a large farm near Brownsville, where he continued the practice of his profession and engaged in farming operations of considerable extent, and in the

raising of stock. Here were born to him eleven children, of whom the subject of this sketch, John A. Logan, is the eldest.

EDUCATION.

When General Logan was born, Illinois was considered a pioneer settlement. It was not until six years later that the Indians under Black Hawk were driven from the State, and the General was eleven years old before Chicago became a place of four thousand inhabitants. It will, therefore, be understood that the educational facilities of the State at that period were very limited. Being an educated man himself, Dr. Logan was anxious to give to his children better opportunities for receiving education than were afforded by the local schools. He, therefore, employed a competent tutor to take charge of the education of his children, and young John was thus enabled to lay the foundation for an English education and to acquire some knowledge of Greek and Latin. Dr. Logan was a man of great hospitality, and his house became the resort of the most prominent residents of, and visitors to, that part of the country, and his children thus made the acquaintance and became the associates of the best people of the country. The Doctor's fine horses and hounds always attracted attention, and the use of both in the chase was a familiar sport of the Doctor and his boys.

LIEUTENANT IN MEXICAN WAR.

Young John continued his education at a neighboring seminary for a period of three years; but the Mexican war coming on broke up all his plans for further education, as he at once enlisted and became a lieutenant in Company H, 1st Regiment Illinois Volunteers. Dr. Logan lived to see his son enter upon that career which was destined to make him one of the most prominent military and political figures of the country. Dr. Logan lived a life of useful-



LIEUT. JOHN A. LOGAN. Age, 20 years.
Engraved from Painting, by permission of Mrs. Logan.

ness, reared a large family, and died in 1851, respected and honored by all who knew him. His widow, Mother Logan, as she was called, was known far and wide. She was a woman of large intellectual endowments, of indomitable will, and splendid executive ability. She lived to see her children and a number of grandchildren grow up, and died in 1877, respected and lamented by all who knew her.

As an evidence of the sagacity of Dr. Logan in the selection of a site for his home, it may be stated that the town of Murphysboro, the present county-seat of Jackson county and a large and flourishing place, is laid out upon the old Logan homestead.

As his father and mother by reason of their intellectual endowments and personal characteristics were leaders of thought and action among those with whom they associated, so young John became a leader among his associates, and developed those qualities of mind and heart which have stood him so well in hand in later years. He was candid, just, courageous, self-reliant, and warmly devoted to his friends; and so when he enlisted for the Mexican war, he was at once made a lieutenant, although not twenty-one years of age. He served his country with distinction to the end of the war, and, at the time of his muster out, was acting quarter-master of his regiment.

A LEADING ATTORNEY.

In 1849 young Logan was elected to the office of county clerk of Jackson county. He held this position but a short time, being ambitious to enter the profession of the law, and so he resigned his clerkship and became a student at Louisville, Kentucky, in the Law Department of the Louisville University. He continued his studies in this institution, and in due time graduated with honor, and returned at once to his home at Murphysboro, Illinois,

where he was admitted to a partnership in the law office of his uncle, Governor Jenkins.

As an attorney he soon became noted and conspicuous in the trial of cases. Quick to gather all the leading facts in a case, and ready in the application of the law thereto, and powerful in the presentation of these to a jury, he soon came to lead when associated in the trial of cases with the most prominent and distinguished lawyers of the State. His practice became large and lucrative, but he was not to be left to the mere practice of the law in the courts, for in 1852 he was elected by the people of his legislative district, composed of the counties of Franklin and Jackson, to the House of Representatives of the Illinois Legislature for a period of two years, a position in which his father had preceded him.

While in the Legislature, he occupied an influential position, and was recognized on all hands as one of the rising men of the State. After his service in the Legislature, he continued the practice of his profession, and was soon elected to the office of prosecuting attorney for the third judicial district, which was composed of a number of counties. In this position he was the instrument of the law for the prosecution of wrong-doers, and to these he became a terror; never undertaking to turn the penalties of the law against those who had not really violated its provisions, the guilty by his earnest endeavors were brought to punishment. In this position his labors were very arduous. He traveled from county to county to attend the terms of court, and performed the labor of the preparation of all the indictments and the trial of all the cases. He tried many of the most noted cases ever brought before the courts of Illinois, and met many of the most prominent lawyers of that and adjoining States.

The preparation of his cases was always thorough and complete, and upon entering upon their trial he was master of the law and the facts. He did not confine him-

self solely to the practice of the criminal law; the civil and chancery dockets were full of cases in which he was employed either on one side or the other, and litigants soon found it to their advantage to have Mr. Logan as their attorney.

After his term of office as prosecuting attorney had expired, he was so widely known, especially in southern Illinois, that but few cases of great importance were tried concerning which he was not consulted, or in which he did not take an active part.

During this period the forensic efforts of Mr. Logan attracted widespread attention, and wherever it was known that he was to speak in an important case, large numbers of the most intelligent people of the town and country would assemble to hear him. In the defense of a prisoner he rarely ever failed to arouse a profound sympathy for his client, and the public mind, favoring the defendant, would naturally have an important influence upon the jury.

MARRIAGE.

On the 27th of November, 1855, Mr. Logan married Miss Mary S. Cunningham, a daughter of Captain John M. Cunningham, who had served with gallantry in the Mexican war, had served in the Legislature of Illinois, had been Register of Public Lands at the Shawneetown, Illinois, Land Office, and had occupied other important positions. Captain and Mrs. Cunningham felt great interest in the education of their daughter, Mary, and entrusted this duty to the sisters of St. Vincent Seminary, Morganfield, Kentucky, where she received her education. After their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Logan removed to Benton, Franklin county, Illinois, where they established their home.

A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

In 1856 Mr. Logan was again chosen to represent his

district in the Illinois Legislature, where he maintained and advanced the prestige gained by his former service.

During the practice of his profession, Mr. Logan made the warm friendship of almost all the leading citizens of his district, and he increased his hold upon the confidence and esteem of the people by the fearless and able manner in which he discussed political questions. He became a strong adherent and friend of Senator Douglas, and earnestly espoused his cause and the doctrines of the Democratic party as advanced by him, and so it came to pass, in 1858, that Mr. Logan was nominated without opposition as the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Ninth Congressional District of Illinois.

This political campaign was made famous by the joint debates between Douglas and Lincoln, and while the speeches of these two great men gave the campaign its national character, the speeches of Mr. Logan, delivered in various parts of the State, contributed largely in electing to the Legislature a majority of members favorable to the re-election of Mr. Douglas to the United States Senate. Mr. Logan's own election was assured from the start. He lived in the banner Democratic district of the United States, and was elected by a handsome majority.

Mr. Logan was now thirty-two years of age. He had served as a lieutenant in the Mexican war. He had been elected clerk of the county court of his native county. He had studied law, and had graduated with honor at the law department of a university. He had been twice elected to and served in the Legislature of Illinois. He had been elected prosecuting attorney in the judicial district where he lived. He had acquired a large and lucrative practice of the law, and had established a high reputation as a lawyer and as an orator, and, finally, he had been elected to represent sixteen counties of the State of Illinois in that broad field of endeavor, the Congress of the United States.

These honors were won by earnest and constant effort in the line of duty, whereby the confidence of the people was secured and held. This record might well satisfy the ambition and aspirations of most men, but at the time Mr. Logan entered Congress, in December, 1859, the country was about entering upon the stage where was to be enacted some of the mightiest events of time, in which Mr. Logan was to play a most conspicuous part, and which was to be with him the beginning of a career of great importance and usefulness to his country.

Congressman Logan took his seat December, 1858, at what will be remembered as the most exciting period prior to the outbreak of the rebellion. Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant," was then the leading Democrat of the Northwest, and especially of Illinois. It was to be expected, therefore, that Mr. Logan would defer to him, and, so far as he could with consistency, follow his lead in all matters of public weal. But even then his impetuous spirit with difficulty brooked the insults daily heaped upon every man who dared to call a halt to the rampant fire-eaters then in Congress, who seemed bent upon ruling or ruining the Union. He worked incessantly for the welfare of his constituents, and so well did he succeed that in November of 1860 he was unanimously renominated and re-elected by an increased majority to the Thirty-seventh Congress.

Mr. Logan attended the national convention at Charleston, S. C., and for the first time beheld the veritable auction-block and slave-dens of the South. His generous nature revolted at the barbarity of slavery thus in its very nakedness brought right beneath his eyes, and his mind foresaw the fall of that inhuman institution at no distant day. He saw that the spirit of tyranny and oppression manifested by the leaders of the Democratic party towards every man north of "Mason and Dixon's line" boded ill for them. He felt, as did every free man, that very soon

must cease the forbearance that had been shown to men who knew no bounds to their demands, and who were ready to subordinate everything to their lust for wealth and power and the perpetuation of human slavery. Hence, when the Congress assembled in December, 1860, he was in no frame of mind to endure the intensified fanaticism and threatening manner of the Southern Representatives. His speeches made at that time, as a Democrat, are replete with patriotic fire and love of the Union. Imbued with this spirit he was most active in striving to bring about what was known as the "Crittenden Compromise," believing, as did many other patriotic men, that that measure would avert the horrors of a civil war. But all effort seemed powerless before fate. The tide was too strong. Boldly and bravely Mr. Logan exerted himself to breast it, urging moderation upon his party and its older leaders, while eloquently avowing his own devotion to the Union and his abhorrence of the meditated treason.

It may be well right here to allude briefly to the base and baseless charge made by some of his enemies, that at the outbreak of the war and prior to it, he was a "secession sympathizer," and his triumphant refutation of the same, which may be found in the *Congressional Record* of April, 1881. The only man who ever dared insinuate that charge to his face, was Senator Ben Hill, of Georgia, in the United States Senate Chamber, March 30, 1881, and Logan at once replied: "Any man who insinuates that I sympathized with it at that time, insinuates what is false," and Senator Hill at once retracted the calumny. Subsequently, April 19, 1881, a portion of the press having in the meantime insinuated further doubts, Senator Logan proved by the record, and by voluminous documentary evidence, the falsity of the aspersion. That record shows that January 7, 1861, while still a Douglas Democrat, before Lincoln's inauguration, and before even

the first gun of war was fired upon Fort Sumter, he declared in Congress, as he voted for a resolution which approved the action taken by the President in support of the laws and for the preservation of the Union, that the resolution received his "unqualified approbation." Prior to that (December 17, 1860), he had voted affirmatively on a resolution offered by Morris, of Illinois, which declared an "immovable attachment" to "our National Union," and "that it is our patriotic duty to stand by it, as our hope in peace and our defense in war." In a speech he made February 5, 1861, on the "Crittenden Compromise," he declared that "he had always denied, and did yet deny the right of secession." And when he concluded his speech of vindication in the Senate, even the Bourbon Senator Brown, of Georgia, declared it to be "full, complete, and conclusive." In future, then, no truthful man will dare to say that Logan was not true to the Union and opposed to secession before the war, at the beginning of the war, and all through the war.

Mr. Logan was elected to Congress as a Democrat of the Douglas school. He had espoused the doctrine of popular sovereignty in respect to the organization of the Territories, and earnestly opposed the positions taken by the Republicans and Administration Democrats, the one favoring the exclusion of slavery from the Territories by acts of Congress, and the other claiming that slaves, like all other property, could be lawfully taken to the Territories, and was entitled to the protection of Congress during the existence of the Territorial governments. So, when he entered Congress, he was earnest in his advocacy of his favorite doctrine, and when, in 1860, Mr. Douglas was nominated as a candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Logan favored his election in many earnest speeches, delivered to large audiences. Mr. Logan insisted that the conflict of opinion between the adherents of Mr. Lincoln and Mr.

Breckenridge endangered the Union, and that the election of Mr. Douglas would be an act of wisdom on the part of the people, and be a sure means of maintaining peace and preserving the Union. In this political contest Mr. Logan, with great earnestness, opposed alike the Republicans and Breckenridge Democrats, and after the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the assembling of Congress, Mr. Logan abated none of his opposition to these parties.

He earnestly advocated peace, and expressed the most profound deprecation of war. He favored the plan of compromise offered by the venerable statesman of Kentucky, Hon. John J. Crittenden. He delivered a speech during the session, of great force and ability, in which he set forth his views upon the existing crisis. No blow had yet been struck, no blood had yet been spilled; men of all parties in the Northern and border States hoped and worked for peace, and proposed numerous amendments to the Constitution of the United States in the interest of slavery as a means of averting the horrors of civil war.

Time, however, rolled on; the 4th of March came; Lincoln was inaugurated; Congress had adjourned, and no measure had been adopted which was acceptable to the Southern leaders. Mr. Logan returned to his home. Six weeks afterward Fort Sumter fell. President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers and convening Congress. Mr. Logan took his seat in Congress, and during the brief session voted for all the important measures necessary for the organization, equipment and arming of the army and navy.

Up to this time there had yet been no actual conflict of arms between the Union and Confederate forces resulting in bloodshed, but the rebels were hovering near the capital of the Nation, and it was obvious to the most casual observer that the clash of arms could not long be delayed. At last the hour came for an advance of the Union army

under General McDowell to give battle to the hosts who sought the overthrow of the Union. The martial spirit of war seized Mr. Logan, and he determined to leave his seat in Congress and take his chances with the soldiers in the ranks in this the first great battle of the war.

CHAPTER XIV.

LOGAN, THE SOLDIER.

CONGRESSMAN LOGAN AT BULL RUN—HE RETURNS TO WASHINGTON AND TO “EGYPT”—THE SACRIFICES HE MADE FOR THE UNION CAUSE—THE MAGICAL EFFECT OF HIS PATRIOTIC ELOQUENCE UPON A HOWLING MOB—HOW HE TURNED SECESSION SYMPATHIZERS INTO UNION SOLDIERS—HOW SOUTHERN ILLINOIS WAS SAVED TO THE UNION—THE EFFECT OF HIS GREAT INFLUENCE THERE.

TOUCHING this first Bull Run, General Anson G. McCook, now Secretary of the United States Senate, himself a gallant soldier in the war, and a participant, as Captain of the Second Ohio, in that battle, narrated to the writer the following characteristic incident. Said he: “It was, I think, on the 18th of July—three days before the battle proper. We were making a reconnoissance at Blackburn’s Ford, when I heard artillery-firing, and went to the front to see what was going on. Shortly after, musketry-firing began in the valley, and our men commenced to fall back, when I noticed two men in citizen’s dress among the soldiers. One was my uncle, Daniel McCook; the other, a man I had never before seen, but whose striking personal appearance and actions at once arrested my attention. He wore a silk hat, which seemed strangely incongruous on a battle-field in a crowd of soldiers. He was a man of alert and vigorous frame, swarthy complexion, long and heavy black mustache, and black eyes. His hands were bloody, a rifle was on his shoulder, and while at one moment he was helping to carry off some wounded man, at another, with blazing eyes and language

more forcible than polite, he strove to rally the men. I afterwards asked my uncle who that man was, and he told me it was John A. Logan, the Illinois Congressman.

Returning to Washington, Mr. Logan hurried back to his district at the close of the session, to tell his people of his intention to follow the flag of his country, and, if need be, "*hew his way to the Gulf.*"

No man in the nation made greater sacrifices at this supreme moment than did Logan. Resolutions favoring secession had already been adopted by his constituents. At his own home, excitement ran high, and all one way. Every tie he had, save that of his patriotic wife, was arrayed against him. He had been the pride and the idol of his people, but now they spurned him and heaped upon him the bitterest denunciation. Party ties were rent asunder, and persecution and abuse followed him everywhere. Threats of personal violence were made. So inflamed, indeed, was the public mind that deeds of open defiance to the government were imminent. There are persons now living who witnessed and will never forget the wonderful magnetic influence of Mr. Logan over men as exhibited at that stormy time when, mounting a wagon in the public square at Marion, Williamson County, which was now his place of residence, he addressed a vast multitude of infuriated people who, strongly sympathizing with the South, were little less than a turbulent, howling mob. When Logan commenced to speak, it was with difficulty the mob-spirit could be restrained so that he could gain a hearing, but before he had finished the vivid picture he painted in words of living light, of the inevitable consequences of treason and disunion to them, their children, and their country, they stood absolutely spell-bound, and many were even ready to enlist in defense of that very flag which, but a few moments before, they would have stamped upon. And when he closed his glowing periods and told them he was going to enlist for the war, "as a private, or

in any capacity in which he could serve his country best in defending the old blood-stained flag over every foot of soil in the United States," they swarmed about him and sent up such a shout as has rarely been heard. A friend and fellow comrade of Logan's in the Mexican war, having in the meantime hurriedly hunted up an old fifer and drummer, was the first to shout: "Come on, boys! Let's go with Logan. Where he leads we can follow." Suiting action to the words, the fife and drum struck up the familiar tune of "Yankee Doodle," and before they had marched half way round the square, one hundred gallant fellows were in line "keeping step to the music of the Union." Each pledged to serve his country for three years, unless sooner discharged by peace being declared.

The midnight traveling and daily speaking and enlisting of soldiers for the war, during the ensuing ten days can scarcely be described. The conversion of an entire people from sympathy for their kindred and friends in the South into patriotic soldiers ready to fight against them, was little short of miraculous. The sharp struggle between duty and inclination; the actual taking up of arms and leaving loved ones behind while on the way to fight other loved ones in front; the sacrifice of all other ties for the sake of patriotic principle, and the maintenance and preservation of the unity of the States—how trying an ordeal!

And yet, despite all these great heart-bursting difficulties and struggles, from which none but the noblest of men could find the true course, in ten days the grand old Thirty-first Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment with Logan at its head was *en route* for Cairo, the *rendezvous* of the first soldiers enlisted in Southern Illinois. From that hour, the whole surrounding country seemed to catch the infection of patriotism, and Colonel Logan's regiment, the Thirty-first Illinois Infantry—which was quickly followed by the Twenty-second, Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Regi-

ments, was at once organized with others into McClelland's First Brigade under Grant. Thus Southern Illinois was saved to the Union, and the indescribable calamity of guerilla warfare averted from the soil of Logan's native State. What might have happened had any portion of Illinois lying south of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad joined in an attempt at secession, we care not now to contemplate. That Cairo, as a base for our armies, when they embarked for the Tennessee, Mississippi, and the whole southern field—was of inestimable importance, none can deny. Nor can it be disputed that to Logan, more than to any other one man, is due the gallant and patriotic stand the Southern Illinoisans took; nor that its influence was felt in a very marked degree in Indiana and other adjacent States, and nerved the hearts of Union men everywhere, giving fresh impulse to Northern courage.

CHAPTER XV.

COLONEL LOGAN AT THE BATTLE OF BELMONT—HIS BRAVERY AND “ADMIRABLE TACTICS”—HIS HORSE SHOT UNDER HIM—HIS CARE FOR THE PROPER OUTFIT AND COMFORT OF HIS MEN—LOGAN AT FORT HENRY—HIS INTREPIDITY AND SKILL AT FORT DONELSON—HE IS WOUNDED AND CARRIED FROM THE FIELD, HAVING EARNED A BRIGADIER-GENERALSHIP.

AS a soldier, Colonel Logan brought into play all the enthusiasm, energy and indomitable will which has always characterized him. He drilled and disciplined his regiment himself, and six weeks after the enlistment of his men led them into battle at Belmont, Missouri. There the force of General Grant being landed from the transports, conveyed by the gunboats Tyler and Lexington, the line of battle was formed, with Logan and his Thirty-first Illinois Infantry regiment on the left. An account of this early battle says:

“The advance was a continuous running fight. Every inch of ground was hotly contested. The scene became terrific. Men grappled with men, column charged upon column, musketry rattled, cannon thundered and tore frightful gaps in the contending forces. But unable to win against such formidable odds, the command to fall back was given (to avoid being cut off from the gunboats) and the soldiers of the North fought their way back even as they had forward.”

Of Colonel Logan in this engagement the official report says: “Colonel Logan’s admirable tactics not only foiled the frequent attempts of the enemy to flank him, but secured a steady advance toward the enemy’s camp.”

It was on this occasion that in a moment of victory

McClelland's command being given over to rejoicing was much demoralized and exposed to danger should the enemy reinforce and return. This the enemy was doing when Colonel Logan discovered him, instantly formed his command, and repulsing the attack succeeded in getting the entire command on board. It was during a successful bayonet charge at this battle that Logan's horse was shot under him. The design of the expedition was the breaking up of the enemy's encampment at Belmont. Having accomplished it, the Union troops returned to Cairo with many prisoners.

The discomforts of the raw troops in Cairo at that time were very great, and much harder to bear than the greater hardships which they subsequently bore as veterans. They had left their homes and comfortable surroundings quite unprepared for the life of a soldier. Their equipage was poor, as neither quarter-masters nor purveyors had yet learned how to properly prepare for the needs of troops. Colonel Logan, with that solicitude for the well-being of his men which always distinguished him, and for which, together with his military skill and daring, they idolized him, finally went to Washington and arranged for arms and clothing suitable for his command, although, owing to the confusion incident to the hurried preparations for war, it was almost impossible to obtain much needed supplies of any character.

The plan for the campaign in the Southwest having been perfected, the troops were embarked upon ordinary western river steamboats to go up the Ohio to the Tennessee river, to strike and dislodge the enemy at Fort Henry, a work quickly done. This was the first decisive triumph of the Union arms upon western waters and "On to Donelson!" was the cry of every tongue. In the fiercest storms of a severe winter, after the fall of Fort Henry, the Union cavalry, infantry and artillery, were landed and marched across the country to Fort Donelson,

a much more formidable fortification on the Cumberland river which had been erected for the defense of Nashville and the whole section of country thereabout. The gunboats pushed up the river to shell the fort in front, while the command marched rapidly to the rear of the works, despite sleet, rain, almost impassable mud, and bitter cold. For three days the Union forces besieged Fort Donelson, doing some gallant fighting all along the line. The lamented Ransom and Logan, respectively, with the Eleventh and Thirty-first Illinois Infantry, with inflexible courage held their positions notwithstanding they received the heaviest fire of the enemy, and sustained the sudden and simultaneous attack of an immense mass of Confederate infantry which had been hurled on McClernand's division. It was in the afternoon of the third day, when the Eleventh and Thirty-first Illinois, the latter commanded by the intrepid Logan, stood like a wall of belching fire against the enemy until both had nearly exhausted their cartridges and had suffered greatly in killed and wounded—of the six hundred and six men of Logan's regiment who went into the fight, but three hundred and three answered to their names the next morning—among the former, in the Thirty-first Illinois, being their Lieutenant-Colonel (White) and the senior Captain (Williamson,) and among the latter Colonel Logan himself. Logan, however, regardless of a severe wound in his shoulder, rallied his men to fresh exertion and held them in position until from exhaustion and loss of blood he was carried from the field.

In his official reports of the battles of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, General McClernand, commanding the First Division, speaks highly of Colonel Logan's conduct in those battles. Touching Fort Donelson, he says: "Schwartz's battery being left unsupported by the retirement of the Twenty-ninth, the Thirty-first boldly rushed to its defense, and at the same moment received the combined attack of the forces on the right and of others in

front, supposed to have been led by General Buckner. The danger was imminent, and calling for a change of disposition adapted to meet it, which Colonel Logan made by forming the right wing of his battalion at an angle with the left. In this order he supported the battery, which continued to play upon the enemy and held him in check until his regiment's supply of ammunition was entirely exhausted."

The report of Colonel Oglesby of the Eighth Illinois, commanding the first brigade, also says: "Turning to the Thirty-first, which yet held its place in line, I ordered Colonel Logan to throw back his right, so as to form a crotchet on the right of the Eleventh Illinois. In this way Colonel Logan held in check the advancing foe for some time, under the most destructive fire, whilst I endeavored to assist Colonel Cruft with his brigade in finding a position on the right of the Thirty-first. It was now four hours since fighting began in the morning. The cartridge-boxes of the Thirty-first were nearly empty. The Colonel had been severely wounded, and the Lieutenant-Colonel, John H. White, had, with some thirty others, fallen dead on the field, and a large number wounded. In this condition Colonel Logan brought off the remainder of his regiment in good order."

Says another writer: "The annals of the war speak of General Logan as being where danger was the greatest and the blows of death the thickest and most heavy, and no name is inscribed more brightly upon the roll of honor of Donelson."

The "unconditional surrender" of Fort Donelson, February 16, 1862, was a heavy shock to the South, and correspondingly swelled with joy the Northern heart.

At this distance of time it is hard to realize what was endured by our Union soldiers at Donelson. The cold was of such intensity that the hands and feet of many of them were frozen. Everything was covered with a thick

crust of ice, and the sleet continued to fall heavily and ceaselessly day and night during the siege. The besiegers were, moreover, so close to the fortifications that no fires could be lighted, and neither officers nor men had anything to eat save the cold cooked rations in their haversacks.

The following letter exhibits the fact that Colonel Logan's conduct at this siege had attracted the personal attention of General Grant:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT WEST TENNESSEE,
FORT HENRY, March 14, 1862.

HON. E. M. STANTON:

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.,—I have been waiting for reports of sub-commanders at the battle of Fort Donelson to make some recommendations of officers for advancement for meritorious services. Those reports are not yet in, and, as the troops under my command are actively engaged, may not be for some time. I therefore take this occasion to make some recommendations of officers who, in my opinion, should not be neglected. I would particularly mention the names of Colonel J. D. Webster, First Illinois Artillery; Morgan L. Smith, Eighth Missouri Volunteers; W. H. L. Wallace, Eleventh Illinois Volunteers, and John A. Logan, Thirty-first Illinois Volunteers. The two former are old soldiers and men of decided merit. The two latter are from civil pursuits, but I have no hesitation in fully indorsing them as in every way qualified for the position of brigadier-general, and think they have fully earned the position on the field of battle. There are others who may be equally meritorious, but I do not happen to know so well their services.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

For his gallantry in the reduction of Donelson, Colonel Logan was accordingly promoted to be a brigadier-general of volunteers. For some time he was confined by his wound to his bed; but so impatient was he to return to his command that with his wound still unhealed he essayed to do so as soon as he was able to sit up. He reached it on the evening of the battle of Shiloh, April 7, 1862, just too late to participate in the engagement, much to his disappointment.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL LOGAN IN COMMAND OF A BRIGADE—HIS SERVICES AT AND ABOUT CORINTH—GENERAL SHERMAN'S APPRECIATION OF THEM—LOGAN SOLICITED TO RETURN TO CONGRESS—HIS GRANDLY PATRIOTIC REFUSAL—“I HAVE ENTERED THE FIELD TO DIE, IF NEED BE, FOR THIS GOVERNMENT”—HIS ONLY POLITICS, HIS “ATTACHMENT FOR THE UNION.”

BEING assigned to the command of the first brigade, third division of the seventeenth army corps, General Logan took a distinguished part in the movement against Corinth; and, had his suggestions been acted upon, that vast, fortified encampment, with the enemy encamped therein, would have been captured, instead of being merely occupied after the enemy had evacuated it. After the occupation of Corinth, General Logan guarded with his brigade the railroad communications with Jackson, Tenn., of which place he was subsequently given the command.

General Sherman, in his official report of the siege of Corinth, dated “Camp, near Corinth, May 30, 1862,” says: “Colonel John A. Logan's brigade, of General Judah's division of McClelland's reserve corps, and General Veatch's brigade, of Hurlbut's division, were placed subject to my orders, and took an important part with my own division in the operations of the two following days, namely, May 28 and May 29, 1862; and I now thank the officers and men of those brigades for the zeal and enthusiasm they manifested and the alacrity they displayed in the execution of every order given. * * * And further, I feel under special obligations to this officer, General Logan, who, during the two days he served under me,

held critical ground on my right, extending down to the railroad. All that time he had in his front a large force of the enemy, but so dense was the foliage that he could not reckon their strength, save from what he could see in the railroad track."

In the summer of 1862, General Logan was warmly urged by his numerous friends and admirers in Illinois to become a candidate for re-election to Congress as a representative at large, but in a letter glowing with the fires of true patriotism, General Logan answered:

In reply I would most respectfully remind you that a compliance with your request on my part would be a departure from the settled resolution with which I resumed my sword in defense and for the perpetuity of a government, the like and blessings of which no other nation or age shall enjoy, if once suffered to be weakened or destroyed. In making this reply I feel that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon what were, or are, or may hereafter be my political views, but would simply state that politics, of every grade and character whatsoever, are now ignored by me, since I am convinced that the Constitution and life of the republic—which I shall never cease to adore—are in danger. I express all my views and politics when I assert my attachment for the Union. I have no other politics now, and consequently no aspirations for civil place and power. * * * Ambitious men, who have not a true love for their country at heart, may bring forth crude and bootless questions to agitate the pulse of our troubled nation, and thwart the preservation of this Union; but for none of such am I. *I have entered the field to die, if need be, for this Government, and never expect to return to peaceful pursuits until the object of this war of preservation has become a fact established.*

CHAPTER XVII.

GENERAL LOGAN LEADS THE ADVANCE IN THE NORTHERN MISSISSIPPI CAMPAIGN—THE RETURN TO MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE—THE CAMPAIGN TO AND BEFORE VICKSBURG—LOGAN IN COMMAND OF THE THIRD DIVISION OF M'PHERSON'S CORPS—CANALLING AT LAKE PROVIDENCE—A BOLD PROPOSAL—LOGAN'S MEN MAN THE TRANSPORTS THAT RUN THE TERRIBLE FIRE OF VICKSBURG'S GUNS—THE VICTORY OF PORT GIBSON—LOGAN'S MEN DETERMINE THE DAY—BATTLE OF THE BIG BLACK—LOGAN FLANKS THE ENEMY, WHO ARE DRIVEN AGAIN—CONSEQUENT EVACUATION OF GRAND GULF—"THE ROAD TO VICKSBURG NOW OPEN."

FROM Corinth General Logan with his matchless men moved forward, under Grant, to Vicksburg, that "Gibraltar of the Confederacy." It was during Grant's northern Mississippi campaign (1862-3) that Logan was promoted to be a major-general of volunteers (his commission dating from November 29, 1862). Those who are familiar with the story of that memorable campaign will remember that General Logan's command led the advance all the way from Corinth down through Holly Springs and Oxford to the Yocuapataufa, where the campaign ended.

In the attempt to take Vicksburg in the rear, made by General Grant in the fall of 1862, General Logan commanded the first division of the right wing of the thirteenth corps, so denominated, which was organized at Bolivar, Tennessee. The command of General Logan in this campaign was the main reliance of the commanding general, U. S. Grant, and to him was he indebted for the discipline and good order in which the troops finally reached Memphis on their return, December 31, 1862.

Upon arrival at Memphis, Tennessee, the Seventeenth Corps, under orders from the War Department, was organized, General Logan being assigned, January 11, 1863, to the command of its third division, which command he continued to hold until after the fall of Vicksburg.

From Memphis, General Logan's division was embarked on transports, and proceeded to Lake Providence, near Vicksburg, where, amid their watery surroundings, efforts were made to construct the famous canal, until the impatient spirit of leader and men would no longer patiently await the results of the tedious experiment of canal-digging, but boldly proposed to run past the frowning cannon of Vicksburg in vessels, protected only by bales of cotton piled up on either side to protect the brave fellows who volunteered for the dangerous service. General Logan's command moved from Lake Providence February 22, 1863, reaching Milliken's Bend April 25, and thence proceeded, by way of Carthage and Perkins' Plantation, to Hard Times Landing, below Grand Gulf. Meanwhile, the transports, manned almost exclusively by volunteers from Logan's division, with their valuable cargoes of human souls, had with arrowy speed in the night swept past the belching batteries of Vicksburg, comparatively unharmed by the storms of shot and shell that poured upon them. Having thus secured transports with which the troops could be crossed over the Mississippi river, work was now to commence in real earnest and to some purpose. On the morning of May 1, General Logan's division was ferried across the river in these vessels, and was at once pushed toward Port Gibson, where General McClernand was engaging the enemy, and attempting, without success, to drive him from his position. The official report of General Grant says: "McClernand, who was with the right in person, sent repeated messages to me before the arrival of Logan to send Logan's and Quimby's divisions to him. Osterhaus, of McClernand's corps, did not move

the enemy from the position occupied by him on our left until Logan's division of McPherson's corps arrived. However, as soon as the advance of McPherson's corps, Logan's division, arrived, I sent one brigade of the division to the left. By the judicious disposition made of this brigade, under the immediate supervision of McPherson and Logan, a position was obtained, giving us an advantage, which drove the enemy from that part of the field, to make no further stand south of Bayou Pierre, and the enemy was here repulsed with a heavy loss in killed, wounded and prisoners. He was pursued toward Port Gibson, but night closing in, and the enemy making the appearance of another stand, the troops slept upon their arms until daylight. Major Stolbrand, with a section of one of General Logan's batteries, had the pleasure of firing the last shot at the retreating enemy across the bridge on the north fork of Bayou Pierre, just at dusk on that day."

In this battle the Union loss was one hundred and thirty killed and seven hundred and eighteen wounded. The Union army captured six hundred and fifty prisoners and six field guns. The enemy acknowledged a loss of four hundred and forty-eight killed and wounded and three hundred and eighty-four missing. The Confederate General Pemberton telegraphed that night to General Joseph E. Johnston:

"A furious battle has been going on since daylight just below Port Gibson. Enemy can cross all his army from Hard Times to Bruinsburg. I should have large reinforcements. Enemy's movements threaten Jackson, and, if successful, cut off Vicksburg and Port Hudson."

Early on the morning of the second, it was found that Port Gibson had been evacuated the previous night and that the enemy had withdrawn across the two forks of Bayou Pierre and burned the bridges behind him. Badeau in his "Military History of U. S. Grant," says: "Grant immediately detached one brigade of Logan's division to

the left, to engage the attention of the rebels there, while a heavy detail of McClernand's troops was set to work rebuilding the bridge across the South Fork. * * * *While this was doing, two brigades of Logan's division forded the bayou and marched on.* * * * Meanwhile another division (Crocker's) of McPherson's corps had been ferried across the Mississippi and * * * had come up with the command. * * * Grant now ordered McPherson to 'Push across the bayou and attack the enemy in flank, and in full retreat through Willow Springs, demoralized and out of ammunition.' McPherson started at once, and before night his two divisions had crossed the South Fork and marched to the North Fork, eight miles further on. They found the bridge at Grindstone Ford still burning, but the fire was extinguished and the bridge repaired in the night, the troops passing over as soon as the last plank was laid. This was at five o'clock a.m. on the third. Before one brigade had finished crossing, the enemy opened on the head of the column with artillery; but the command was at once deployed, and the rebels soon fell back, their movement being intended only to cover the retreating force. McPherson followed rapidly, driving them through Willow Springs, and gaining the Cross Roads. Here Logan was directed to take the Grand Gulf road, while Crocker continued the direct pursuit. Skirmishing was kept up all day; the broken country, the narrow, tortuous roads and impassable ravines, offering great facilities for this species of warfare; the enemy availed himself fully of every advantage, contesting the ground with great tenacity. This continued all the way to Hankinson's ferry on the Big Black river, fifteen miles from Port Gibson. Several hundred prisoners were taken in the pursuit. At four o'clock in the afternoon, McPherson came up with the rebels, *and Logan at the same time appearing on their right flank, caused them to move precipitously toward the river.* McPherson followed hard, and

arrived just as the last of the rebels was crossing, and in time to prevent the destruction of the bridge. It being now dark, and the enemy driven across the Big Black, the command was rested for the night."

On the morning of the third it was found that the previous night the enemy had evacuated the stronghold of Grand Gulf, with its elaborate and extensive works, after burying or spiking his cannon and blowing up his magazines. Thirteen heavy guns thus fell into the hands of the Union army.

In a dispatch to Sherman, then at Milliken's Bend, General Grant wrote on the third: "Logan is now on the main road from here to Jackson, and McPherson, closely followed by McClermand, on the branch of the same road from Willow Springs. * * * The road to Vicksburg is now open." * * *

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BATTLE OF RAYMOND — LOGAN'S DIVISION WINS IT —
“ONE OF THE HARDEST SMALL BATTLES OF THE WAR”
—LOGAN OUTFLANKS THE ENEMY AT THE BATTLE OF
CHAMPION'S HILL AND SECURES VICTORY TO THE UNION
ARMS — RETREAT AND ROUT OF THE ENEMY — “THE
MOST COMPLETE DEFEAT OF THE CONFEDERATES SINCE
THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR.

ON the 12th of May General Logan again struck the enemy, under Gregg and Walker, at Raymond, and, after several hours' hard fighting drove him with heavy loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, many throwing down their arms and deserting the Confederate cause. General Logan's division alone participated in this fight. General Grant has described the battle of Raymond as “one of the hardest small battles of the war.” And in this battle Logan saved the day by his desperate and personal bravery. On the 14th General Logan's division participated in the battle of Jackson, Mississippi, fought outside the intrenched capital of the State, at which McPherson's corps had alone engaged and routed the bulk of the Confederate General Johnston's command, had captured all his artillery, seventeen cannon, the enemy losing, in killed, wounded and prisoners, eight hundred and forty-five men. Grant slept that night in the house which the night before had been occupied by Johnston.

Historians agree that the battle of Champion's Hill, fought May 16, was one of the most spirited and hotly contested battles of the war. Badeau thus describes the field and the battle:

“The enemy was strongly posted, with his left on a high wooded ridge, called Champion's Hill, over which the

road to Edwards station makes a sharp turn to the south, as it strikes the hills. This ridge rises sixty or seventy feet above the surrounding country, and is the highest land for many miles around; the topmost point is bald, and gave the rebels a commanding position for their artillery; but the remainder of the crest, as well as a precipitous hill to the east of the road, is covered by a dense forest and undergrowth, and scarred with deep ravines, through whose entanglements troops could pass only with extreme difficulty. To the north the timber extends a short distance down the hill, and then opens into cultivated fields on a gentle slope toward Baker's Creek, almost a mile away. The rebel line ran southward along the crest, its centre covering the middle road from Raymond, while the extreme right was on the direct or southern road. The whole line was about four miles long. Midway Hill, so-called because midway betwixt Jackson and Vicksburg, or Champion's Hill, so-called because Champion was the name of the principal land proprietor of the neighborhood, on the rebel left, was evidently the key to the whole position. * * *

“Continuous firing had been kept up all the morning between Hovey's skirmishers and the rebel advance; and by eleven o'clock this grew into a battle. At this time Hovey's division was deployed to move westward against the hill, the two brigades of Logan supporting him. Logan was formed in the open field, facing the northern side of the ridge, and only about four hundred yards from the enemy, Logan's front and the main front of Hovey's division being nearly at right angles with each other. As Hovey advanced, his line conformed to the shape of the hill, and became crescent-like, the concave toward the hill. McPherson now posted two batteries on his extreme right, and well in advance. These poured a destructive enfilading fire upon the enemy, under cover of which the national line began to mount the hill. The enemy at once

replied with a murderous discharge of musketry, and the battle soon raged hotly all along the line, from Hovey's extreme left to the right of Logan; but Hovey pushed steadily on, and drove the rebels back six hundred yards, till eleven guns and three hundred prisoners were captured, and the brow of the height was gained. The road here formed a natural fortification, which the rebels made haste to use. It was cut through the crest of the ridge at the steepest part, the bank on the upper side commanding all below; so that even where the national troops had apparently gained the road the rebels stood behind this novel breastwork, covered from every fire, and masters still of the whole declivity. These were the only fortifications at Champion's Hill, but they answered the rebels well. * * *

“For awhile Hovey bore the whole brunt of the battle, and, after a desperate resistance, was compelled to fall back, though slowly and stubbornly, losing several of the guns he had taken an hour before. But Grant * * * sent in a brigade of Crocker's division, which had just arrived. These fresh troops gave Hovey confidence, and the height, that had been gained with fearful loss, was still retained. * * *

“Meanwhile, the rebels had made a desperate attempt, on their left, to capture the battery in McPherson's corps which was doing them so much damage. They were, however, promptly repelled by Smith's brigade of Logan's division, which drove them back with great slaughter, capturing many prisoners. Discovering now that his own left was nearly turned, the enemy made a determined effort to turn the left of Hovey, precipitating on that commander all his available force; and, while Logan was carrying everything before him, the closely-pressed and nearly exhausted troops of Hovey were again compelled to retire. They had been fighting nearly three hours, and were fatigued and out of ammunition, but fell back doggedly,

and not far. The tide of battle at this point seemed turning against the national forces, and Hovey sent back repeatedly for support. Grant, however, was momentarily expecting the advance of McClernand's four divisions, and never doubted the result. * * * That commander, however, did not arrive; and Grant, seeing the critical condition of affairs, now directed McPherson to move what troops he could, by a left flank, around to the enemy's right front, on the crest of the ridge. The prolongation of Logan to the right had left a gap between him and Hovey, and into this the two remaining brigades of Crocker were thrown. The movement was promptly executed; Boomer's brigade went at once into the fight, and checked the rebel advance till Holmes' brigade came up, when a dashing charge was made, and Hovey and Crocker were hotly engaged for forty minutes, Hovey recapturing five of the guns he had already taken and lost. But the enemy had massed his forces on this point, and the irregularity of the ground prevented the use of artillery in enfilading him. Though baffled and enraged, he still fought with courage and obstinacy, and it was apparent that the national line was in dire need of assistance; in fact, the position was in danger.

“ At this crisis, Stevenson's brigade of Logan's division was moved forward at a double-quick into a piece of wood on the extreme right of the command; the brigade moved parallel with Logan's general line of battle, charged across the ravines, up the hill, and through an open field, driving the enemy from an important position, where he was about to establish his batteries, capturing seven guns and several hundred prisoners. The main Vicksburg road, after following the ridge in a southerly direction for about a mile, to the point of intersection with the middle Raymond road, turns almost to the west again, running down the hill and across the valley where Logan was now operating, in the rear of the enemy. Unconscious of this immense

advantage, Logan swept directly across the road, and absolutely cut off the rebel line of retreat to Edward's Station without being aware of it. At this very juncture, Grant, finding that there was no prospect of McClernand reaching the field, and that the scales were still balanced at the critical point, thought himself obliged, in order to still further re-enforce Hovey and Crocker in front, to recall Logan from the right, where he was overlapping and out-flanking the rebel left. Had the national commander been acquainted with the country, he would, of course, have ordered Logan to push on in the rear of the enemy, and thus secured the capture or annihilation of the whole rebel army. But the entire region was new to the national troops, and this great opportunity unknown. As it was, however, the moment Logan left the road, the enemy, alarmed for his line of retreat, finding it, indeed, not only threatened, but almost gone, at once abandoned his position in front. At this crisis, a national battery opened from the right, proving a well-directed fire, and the victorious troops of Hovey and Crocker pressing on, the enemy once more gave way; the rebel line was rolled back for the third time, and the battle decided.

“Before the result of the final charge was known, Logan rode eagerly up to Grant, declaring that if one more dash^e could be made in front, he would advance in the rear, and complete the capture of the rebel army. Grant at once rode forward in person, and found the troops that had been so gallantly engaged for hours withdrawn from their most advanced position, and re-filling their cartridge-boxes. Explaining the position of Logan's force, he directed them to use all dispatch and push forward as rapidly as possible. He proceeded himself in haste to what had been Pemberton's line, expecting every moment to come up with the enemy, but found the rebels had already broken and fled from the field. Logan's

attack had precipitated the rout, and the battle of Champion's Hill was won.

“The rout of the rebels was complete.”

The enemy's loss at Champion's Hill was between three thousand and four thousand in killed and wounded, and nearly three thousand prisoners were captured on the field or in the pursuit. Logan alone captured eleven guns and one thousand three hundred prisoners. Some thirty cannon, numerous stands of colors, and large quantities of small arms and ammunition were among the spoils of this victory. And besides routing the enemy, one of his divisions (Loring's) was entirely cut off from Pemberton's army and never again rejoined it. The pursuit was kept up until night by the seventeenth corps—Logan's division reaching a point within three miles of Black River bridge, before going into bivouac. The preceding extract from Badeau's work has been given partly because of its descriptive interest of a sanguinary victory in which General Logan was hotly engaged, but mainly to show that he and his command deserve the credit of it. For brilliant charges and deeds of desperate daring no battle of the war excelled it. But it was by Logan's movement on the right that the battle of Champion's Hill was won, and the enemy, with Pemberton at the head, so completely routed and demoralized that he hardly stopped in his retreat until he had reached the protecting walls of his stronghold in Vicksburg. It was a terribly bloody battle. “When our troops halted along the slopes of Champion's Hill,” says the Comte de Paris in his *History of the Civil War in America*, “the dead and wounded were piled together in such vast numbers that these soldiers, although tried on many a battle-field, called the place ‘the Hill of Death.’” The same eminent and impartial authority says: “The battle of Champion's Hill, considering the number of troops engaged, could not compare with the great conflicts we have already mentioned, but *it produced results far more*

important than most of those great hecatombs, like Shiloh, Fair Oaks, Murfreesboro, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, which left the two adversaries fronting each other, both unable to resume the fight. *It was the most complete defeat the Confederates had sustained since the commencement of the war.* They left on the field of battle from three to four thousand killed and wounded, three thousand able-bodied prisoners, and thirty pieces of artillery. But these figures can convey no idea of the magnitude of the check experienced by Pemberton, from which he could not again recover. * * * *This battle was the crowning work* of the operations conducted by Grant with equal audacity and skill since his landing at Bruinsburg. In outflanking Pemberton's left along the slopes of Champion's Hill he had completely cut off the latter from all retreat north. Notwithstanding the very excusable error he had committed in stopping Logan's movement for a short time, *the latter had, through this manœuvre, secured victory to the Federal army.*

General Grant, in his report of this battle, uses the following language: "Logan rode up at this time, and told me that if Hovey could make another dash at the enemy, *he could come up from where he then was and capture the greater part of their force; which suggestions were acted upon and fully realized.*"

Thus, as we have seen, the enemy was driven in confusion and rout from Champion's Hill and across the Big Black river until he found a brief respite within his entrenchments around the city of Vicksburg, with the besieging lines of the Union army around him.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG — “THE GIBRALTER OF THE SOUTH” — LOGAN AT THE CENTER — BOMBARDMENT BY LAND AND WATER — THE TWO DESPERATE AND BLOODY ASSAULTS — THE REGULAR SIEGE WORKS — LOGAN BLOWS UP FORT HILL, THE “MELAKOFF” OF VICKSBURG — THE FIGHT OF LOGAN’S MEN IN THE CRATER — LOGAN’S CLOSE APPROACHES TO THE ENEMY’S WORKS — HE ADVISES A FINAL ASSAULT, ORDERS FOR WHICH ARE ISSUED — THE ARMISTICE AND SURRENDER — LOGAN’S COLUMN LEADS THE ENTRY — HE IS MADE MILITARY GOVERNOR OF VICKSBURG, AND RECEIVES A MEDAL.

WHEN we consider the wonderful natural strength of that position, truly one of nature’s fastnesses, fortified by a horse-shoe-like line of hills, the points of the shoe touching the Mississippi river above and below the city, and remember that every available means at the command of the confederacy had been brought to bear to make it invulnerable, that their most powerful cannon bristled from every hill-top, that the frowning bluffs were “studded with batteries and seamed with rifle pits,” that their best soldiery manned the guns; and when we remember further, that the country immediately outside and for miles around was one vast swamp heavily forested with trees, interwoven with semi-tropical vines and rank parasitic vegetation, not unlike the tropical growth along the Amazon and other South American rivers; we are amazed at the result of this famous siege, and feel that our soldiers must have been aided by some supernatural power.

“On the morning of the 18th,” says the Comte de Paris, in his history, “Pemberton, with all his troops, shut himself up inside of the vast fortifications constructed

around Vicksburg. His forces, including the sick and a very small number of wounded, for those of Champion's Hill had all remained on the battle-field, amounted to thirty-three thousand men. * * * On the morning of the 19th the investment of Vicksburg was complete. McClernand on the left, McPherson on the center, and Sherman on the right, surrounded the place from the Mississippi on the south to the Yazoo at the north. Pemberton had abandoned all the outer works without a fight. * * * Grant's army, reduced by fighting and rapid machinery, did not reach forty thousand men."

Says Badeau: "The ground on which the city of Vicksburg stands is supposed by some to have been originally a plateau, four or five miles long and about two miles wide, and two or three hundred feet above the Mississippi river. This plateau has been gradually washed away by rains and storms, until it is transformed into a labyrinth of sharp edges and deep irregular ravines. The soil is fine, and when cut vertically by the action of the water remains in a perpendicular position for years; and the smaller and newer ravines are often so deep that their ascent is difficult to a footman, unless he aids himself with his hands. The sides of the declivities are thickly wooded, and the bottoms of the ravines nearly level, except when the streams that formed them have been unusually large. * * *

"The whole line was between seven and eight miles long, exclusive of the four miles of rifle-trench and heavy batteries on the water front. It consisted of a series of detached works, on prominent and commanding points, connected by a continuous line of trench or rifle pits. The works were necessarily irregular, from the shape of the ridges on which they were situated, and in only one instance closed at the gorge. They were placed at distances of from seventy-five to five hundred yards from each other. The connecting rifle pit was simple, and generally about

breast-high. The ravines were the only ditches, except in front of the detached works, but as no others were needed, trees being felled in front of the whole line, and forming in many places, entanglements, which under fire, were absolutely impassable. * * * The whole aspect of the rugged fastness, bristling with bayonets, and crowned with artillery that swept the narrow defiles in every direction, was calculated to inspire new courage in those who came thronging into its recesses and behind its bulwarks, from their succession of disasters in the open field."

It was on the morning of the nineteenth, as has been seen, that Grant's forces, in the order named, completed the investment of Vicksburg, forming his line across these "wooded cliffs and rugged chasms," and it was at two o'clock p.m. of that day that a concerted and simultaneous assault along the whole line was made upon the enemy's fortifications. In the meantime, however, the enemy had recovered his spirits and met the assault with such spirit and energy at all points, that our troops failed to get a footing within his works. It enabled the Union forces, however, to take and hold advanced positions, unveiled the tremendous difficulties that opposed them, developed the enemy's plan of defense, and at the expense of Federal losses amounting to four or five hundred men, demonstrated that it was a serious matter to storm works so well defended at all points. However, both moral and military reasons impelled General Grant to order another general assault along the whole line to take place on the twenty-second at ten o'clock a.m., to be supported by the concentrated fire of all the land batteries, and of Porter's mortar boats and iron-clads on the river side of Vicksburg. "At three o'clock on the morning of the twenty-second," says Badeau, "the cannonade began from the land side; every available gun was brought to bear on the works; sharpshooters at the same time began their part of the action, and nothing could be heard but the continued

shrieking of shells, the heavy booming of cannon, and the sharp whiz of the minnie balls as they sped with fatal accuracy toward the devoted town. Vicksburg was encircled by a girdle of fire; on river and shore, a line of mighty cannon poured destruction from their fiery throats, while the mortars played incessantly, and made the heavens themselves seem to drop down malignant meteors on the rebellious stronghold. The bombardment was the most terrible during the siege, and continued, without intermission, until nearly eleven o'clock, while the sharpshooters kept up such a rapid and galling fire that the rebel cannoneers could seldom rise to load their pieces; the enemy was thus able to make only ineffectual replies, and the formation of the columns of attack was undisturbed." At the appointed time to the minute, the assault was made—at the cost of three thousand Union soldiers killed or wounded—and failed completely, despite the heroism of all who took part in it. Says Badeau: "This assault was, in some respects, unparalleled in the wars of modern times. No attack on fortifications of such strength had ever been undertaken by the great European captains, unless the assaulting party outnumbered the defenders by at least three to one."

The assaults having failed, re-enforcements were sent for, and the Union army in the order previously named, sat down to a regular siege—the details of which would be too tedious for the purposes of this sketch. Suffice it to say, that General Logan was very conspicuous during this memorable time. He commanded McPherson's centre opposite Fort Hill—the Malakoff of Vicksburg. It was his command that tapped and mined this key to the Confederate Sebastopol. It was his command that, after the successful explosion, stormed the gaping breach and fought the hand-to-hand fight in the bloody crate. So greatly did he distinguish himself, that a powerful battery was named after him, "Battery Logan," and Grant was often with

him at his quarters for observation and consultation. He was one of the two generals, out of the council of thirteen who—when the approaches at ten different points had reached so near to the enemy's works that the men of the two armies conversed across the lines—on the 1st of July advised General Grant to again assault the enemy's works, whereupon Grant determined to make the final assault on the 6th of July. But in the meantime, July 3, Pemberton proposed an armistice with a view to arranging terms for the capitulation of the great fortress. It was in front of Logan's headquarters that the famous interview between Pemberton and Grant was had at three o'clock that same afternoon—at which Logan was present. It was Logan's column also that on the 4th of July, 1863, was the first to enter the vast conquered stronghold. Says the Comte de Paris in his interesting history of this terrible and bloody siege: "Logan's division was the first to enter Vicksburg," and, he adds: "It had fully deserved this honor. Grant rode at the head." Says Badeau: "Logan's division was one of those which had approached nearest the rebel works, and now was the first to enter the town. It had been heavily engaged in both assaults, and was fairly entitled to this honor. The Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry marched at the head of the column, and placed its battle-torn flag on the court-house of Vicksburg. Grant rode into the town, with his staff, at the head of Logan's division."

But no history, yet written, has done full justice to Logan's great services during this remarkable siege, the result of which was the surrender to the Union arms of 31,600 men, including 2,153 officers of whom 15 were generals, and 172 cannon—the largest capture of men and material ever made in war—the immediate fall of Port Hudson, and the opening of the Mississippi from Cairo to the Gulf. Grant, however, recognized that to him was due the command of the fallen city, and Logan was made its military governor. His valor was fitly recognized in the

presentation, made to him by the Board of Honor of the Seventeenth Army Corps, of a gold medal inscribed with the names of the nine battles in which he had been most distinguished for heroism and generalship.

CHAPTER XX.

A MILITARY INTERLUDE—LOGAN TAKES THE STUMP IN SUPPORT OF THE LINCOLN ADMINISTRATION—HE ATTACKS “THE ENEMY IN THE REAR”—HIS ELOQUENT APPEALS TO THE PATRIOTISM OF THE NORTH TO STAND BY THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS ARMIES—THE GOOD THEY DID TO “THE CAUSE.”

HAVING inaugurated and perfected the administration of affairs at Vicksburg, General Logan, at the suggestion of his superiors, took a short leave of absence for a visit to the North, where he frequently addressed large assemblies of his fellow-citizens in speeches of fiery eloquence and burning zeal and devotion to the cause of the Union. That year (1863) was one of great importance to the future of the Government in a civil as well as a military point of view. Mr. Lincoln had issued his proclamation of emancipation—a measure which the Northern sympathizers with the South were slow to indorse. Hence it was that it was thought desirable to have Logan spend a short time in the canvass prior to the elections of that year. He accordingly took the stump in Illinois and advocated the election of the Republican ticket and the carrying out of the emancipation of every slave in the Union. While thus engaged in fighting Copperheads in the rear, it was, that in his Carbondale speech of July 31, 1863, when accused by a set of men who once claimed to be his friends, with having forgotten his party, he turned upon them in all the fierceness of patriotic anger, exclaiming: “I am not a politician to-day, and I thank God for it! I am not like those who cling to party as their only hope.” In his Chicago speech of August 10, 1863, alluding to the taunt that he was an “abolitionist” he said: “If every man in this country is

called an abolitionist, that is willing to fight for and sustain his government, let him be called so. If, belonging to the United States and being true and valiant soldiers, meeting the steel of Southern revolutionists, marching to the music of this Union, loving the flag of our country and standing by it in its severest struggles—if that makes us abolitionists, let all of us be abolitionists. If it makes a man an abolitionist to love his country, then I love my country, am willing to live for it, and willing to die for it. If it makes a man an abolitionist to love and revere that flag, then I say, be it so. If it makes a man an abolitionist to love to hear ‘The Star-Spangled Banner’ sung, and be proud to hear that such words were ever penned, or could ever be sung upon the battle-field by our soldiers, then I am proud to be an abolitionist, and I wish to high heaven that we had a million more: then, our rebellion would be at an end, and peace would again fold her gentle wings over a united people, and the old Union and the old friendship again make happy the land where now the rebel flag flaunts dismally in the sultry Southern air.”

Alluding in the same great speech to Northern Copperheads, he said: “Now, I want to ask you, how is it possible for any man in a country like this, to be disloyal to his government? How is it possible that any man in this country can conceive the thought or idea of sympathizing with rebellion against such a government as this? * * * Where is the cause for it? Where is the reason of it? Where the justification? There is none to be found, not one; and if any man becomes disloyal, it is because there are devilish designs and corruptions at his heart.

“My countrymen, let us look back for a few years and view the prosperity and happiness that blessed all our land; and then cast your eyes around and see the condition of our country now. Do not ask yourselves who is President, or what may be his politics: but ask, have we not hitherto

had a good and beneficent government? And, if so, have we not the same government yet? Your answer must be in the affirmative; and, my friends, if we are but true to ourselves, true to our cause, true to the principles we have been educated in from our earliest infancy, we shall have that government still.

“Turn, if you please, your thoughts to the many sanguinary battles of the Revolution. See what it cost our sires to establish this government! Did they not pour out their blood freely as water to accomplish this, to give us this priceless heritage of national liberty and independence, under a form of government that should exist forever? Consider these sacred remembrances of those illustrious men, and then tell me whether it is worth *preserving*; tell me whether this rebellion, begun in infamy, perjury and crime, carried on by blood, pillage and treason, and to end, if successful, in destroying forever the last hope of mankind, tell me if this shall succeed? [Cries of No, never!]

“In all these facts we may realize a lesson clearly pointing out our duty. It is to lay fast hold of that old flag, keep step to the music of the Union, unfurl its ample folds, and with a heart of courage, a will that knows no faltering or dismay, let it flutter over every burg, and wave over every town and hamlet, until all traitors, like the wicked prince of Babylon, shall smite their knees in terror and dismay, as if the handwriting was upon the wall. Let them know that they must bow before it or kiss its untarnished folds, and swear by all that is great and good never to violate its sanctity or infringe a right it represents—let this be done and all will be well. And I appeal to and entreat you all, my countrymen, by all that you hold sacred; by the glorious memories of the past, the once bright hopes of the future; by the memory of the gallant ones who have fallen on the gory fields of the South; by the wounded and suffering who still languish in

our midst; by the sorrow and mourning that this wicked rebellion has brought upon our once happy and favored land, to be faithful, vigilant, untiring, unswerving, determined, come what may, dare to be *men* and do what is right. Stand by your country in all her trials, at every hazard or at any cost.

“Let it not be said that those glorious boys who now sleep beneath the red clay of the South, or the green sod of our own loved State, have died in vain. Let those who are traducing the soldiers of the government know the enormity of their crime and their error—try to reclaim them and bring them back to duty and to honor. If they heed not your appeals—if they still persist in their error and heresies—if they will not aid in maintaining the government and laws that protect them, and continue in their wicked aid and encouragement to this rebellion—send them to the other side where they belong, for the man who can live in this peaceful, happy and prosperous land and not be loyal and true to it, ought, like Cain, to be branded by an indelible mark and banished forever from his native paradise. No traitor, no sympathizer, no man who can lisp a word in favor of this rebellion, or impair the chances of the Union cause, is fit for any other ruler than Jeff. Davis. He should be put in *front* of the Union army, where he will get justice. [Applause.]

“The man that can to-day raise his voice against the Constitution, the laws of the government, with the design of injuring, or in any way obstructing their operation, should, if I could pass sentence upon him, be hung fifty cubits higher than Haman, until his body blackened in the sun and his bones rattled in the wind.

“In bidding you good-night, I trust I do so to loyal, good, true-hearted citizens and patriots, who love the country, in the hope that you all may reflect upon the duties of all men to their country in the hour of peril, and determine with renewed zeal and fervor to give such aid

and assistance to the government and army of the United States, in the prosecution of this war, as will cause that banner again to float in triumph upon every hill and mountain-top and in every vale, from the north to the south, from the east to the west.”

The cogent effect of his many eloquent and telling speeches—some of which were reported in full and largely quoted from by papers all over the country—was to cause many deserters, who had abandoned the army on account of the proclamation of emancipation, to return to their regiments; despondent people took fresh courage; faith in the final triumph of our arms seemed to take possession of every one; Copperheads were dismayed and abashed; and the returns of the November elections removed all fears of want of support by the people of President Lincoln’s policy.

CHAPTER XXI.

LOGAN IN COMMAND OF THE FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS—
HE ORDERS AS ITS CORPS BADGE A CARTRIDGE-BOX
AND “FORTY ROUNDS”—THE ADVANCE ON ATLANTA—
THE STUBBORN BATTLE OF RESACA — LOGAN’S VICTO-
RIOUS ATTACK ON THE ENEMY’S FLANK—THE BATTLE
OF DALLAS—LOGAN’S CORPS BRILLIANTLY REPULSES
REPEATED CHARGES OF HARDEE’S VETERAN CORPS —
LOGAN’S GALLANT BEARING AT A CRITICAL MOMENT—
HE IS AGAIN WOUNDED.

IN November, 1863, General Logan succeeded General Sherman in the command of the fifteenth army corps—the corps which Grant himself had commanded; the corps which subsequently, by Logan’s order, adopted as its corps badge a cartridge-box, with the significant legend, “Forty Rounds”—and spent the ensuing winter at Huntsville, Alabama, preparing for the campaign before Atlanta.

Who can picture, in their true colors, the scenes, marches, trials, battles and sufferings endured in the march to, and during the siege of and movements around, that rock-rooted stronghold! Every approach to it had been defended, and on its rugged mountain-walls—to scale which were like climbing a precipice under a torrent of leaden hail—frowned numberless guns.

Early in May, 1864, General Logan with his army corps joined the advancing columns of the Grand Military Division of the Mississippi, which, under General Sherman, was commencing the campaign. It must be understood at the outset that the Army of the Tennessee, under McPherson—comprising the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth corps, respectively commanded by Generals Logan, Dodge, and Blair—was, during this entire campaign, employed, in

the language of General Sherman, as "the snapper of the whip with which he proposed to punish the enemy;" and its movements to the right and left of the other armies, constantly reaching and occupying the most difficult and perilous positions, entailed upon its several commanding officers, the most exhaustive, delicate, and arduous duties.

While the main army, under the immediate supervision of General Sherman, was confronting the enemy at Dalton and Buzzards Roost, the first flank movement of the series made by the Army of the Tennessee was to the right, through Snake Creek Gap. This attempt to break the railroad at Resaca, and thus cut off the retreat of the enemy, failed, because the place was found so completely fortified that it required finally the best efforts of Sherman's whole army to dislodge him from that position.

This combined movement against Resaca was made on May 13, 1864, General Logan's corps leading the advance of the Army of the Tennessee. The scene and movement is thus described by an officer of McPherson's staff: "Logan moved first and drew the first fire. In front of his second division was an open field, in which were the enemy's skirmishers—across, in the woods his line of battle. At the bugle, the division fell into line of battle, deployed skirmishers and swept across the field, driving the enemy in splendid style. General Logan accompanied the line. At the same time, Harrow, who had fallen back of the main road to allow Morgan L. Smith to move to the right, moved on the double-quick to the left of Osterhaus, the two divisions pushing into the thick wood on the left of the second. Dodge moved his corps from the ferry road down through the forest to fill up the space between the fifteenth corps and the Oostanawla river, his fourth division, under Veatch, having the advance. After crossing the field, General M. L. Smith entered the wood, and pushed rapidly for the hills in his front, and the whole fifteenth corps then suddenly moved forward, driving

the enemy for a mile and a half, until the corps were in possession of the hills, which they had been ordered to take. The remainder of the afternoon was occupied in entrenching the line, putting batteries in position, with skirmishers and pickets constantly exchanging shots in the meantime.

“The next day about noon, General Logan received orders to make an assault upon the rebel lines in his front. He directed the assault to be made by one brigade from each of the first and second divisions, General Charles R. Wood’s brigade of the first, and General Giles A. Smith’s of the second. The remainder of the command were placed in position to give such immediate support to the charging party as circumstances might require. General Logan was in front, busy along the line. It being very difficult to cross the creek which ran between the attacking column and the enemy, the troops were carried to the opposite bank on logs, and any way they best could, under cover of a heavy fire from the batteries. It was six o’clock when the skirmishers were advanced to the foot of the hill, and commenced driving the enemy. At the order of General Logan, the brigade sprang up from the bank under which they were covered, deployed and marched forward, double-quick. Very soon, strong Confederate forces, displaying seven regimental colors were discovered moving in column by regiments. The whole force of the two brigades of General Logan was deployed in front. The Confederate column would strike it in a few minutes. If it broke our lines, the position was gone, and the brigades lost. At this moment Logan hurried along the front. His command reserved its fire until the enemy was within sixty yards. Then it fired. The enemy’s column staggered, fell back, reformed and renewed the assault. Again he was repulsed, but again reformed and made a last attempt to turn Logan’s flank. He was again driven back with great loss, and, under cover of the night—for

it was then dark—left the field in possession of General Logan's troops, who advanced and placed the flag of the Fifty-seventh Ohio on the abandoned redoubt. At two o'clock in the morning, the enemy had abandoned Resaca. The loss of the fifteenth corps was something over three hundred men, while the enemy admitted casualties of over two thousand five hundred. Thus ended the first fight of any moment in the Atlanta campaign."

Another and perhaps more graphic account of this fight, by a participant in it, is as follows: "General Logan advanced against the main works of the enemy covering Resaca and the bridges across the Oostanawla. The first day of the engagement, May 13th, Logan came up with the enemy, in considerable force, about two miles from Resaca. He steadily drove the enemy before him, carrying Camp Creek Hills, a strong position overlooking the town of Resaca, the railroad, and bridges over the river. The main body of the enemy fell back to a low range of fortified hills, about one half mile distant, over a marshy bottom, nearly clear of standing timber, but full of fallen tree-trunks and thickets, and intersected with miry sloughs. The next day, May 14th, sharp skirmishing and heavy artillery practice were kept up from both sides. About six o'clock p.m. the advance was sounded, and Logan's gallant men waded Camp Creek with their arms and equipments held above their heads, and started at a double-quick over the difficult ground, followed by the cheers of their fellow-soldiers on the Camp Creek Hills. The rebel infantry poured in from the hills in front a destructive and well-directed fire, and the artillery from their forts opened in one continuous roar. But neither thicket nor slough, nor shot nor shell, diverted for a moment the attention of the brave stormers from their objective point. Without slackening their speed, or firing a shot, they pressed resistlessly forward until they planted their colors on the conquered hills. As this posi-

tion commanded the enemy's works, and the bridges over the Oostanawla, a determined effort was made to retake it. Heavy columns, with fixed bayonets, advanced up to the very crest of the hills; but they were met by a fire which swept them entirely from that front, defeated and disheartened. The fighting did not end until ten p.m. General Logan was wounded in the arm, and received a severe bruise on the shoulder from a glancing ball. He lost one hundred and two killed, five hundred and twelve wounded and fourteen missing. The enemy sustained a loss in killed and wounded, estimated at one thousand five hundred, and ninety-two taken prisoners. During the entire day of the 15th, skirmishing and artillery firing was kept up with more or less vigor. Logan disposed his artillery so as to command the railroad bridge and town of Resaca, and thus held the enemy entirely at his mercy. During the night of the 15th of May, the enemy evacuated his entire line, retreating southward. Logan entered the town of Resaca at daylight on the morning of the 16th, pressing the enemy's rear-guard so closely that he did not succeed in burning but one of the bridges over the Oostanawla behind him. During the three days and nights in front of Resaca, General Logan never left his men for a moment, either to eat or to sleep."

This instance of his untiring vigilance is but a fair example of his whole military career, and may be regarded as one of the principal reasons of his great and unvarying success as a military leader.

Still moving on the right at Dallas, May 27, Logan came up with the enemy in force, and at 4 o'clock p.m. he went into position beyond the town, with the whole rebel army confronting him. No time was lost in closing up his line and preparing for any attack that might be made, as the enemy was all the time endeavoring to feel his line, and not a moment passed without shots between the skirmishers.

On the 28th of May Hardee's corps, twenty-three thousand strong, moved upon Logan's front, and then ensued one of the severest struggles of the campaign. Never did men fight more desperately than did the enemy on this occasion to drive Logan from his position, as the field of battle after the contest plainly showed. At its close General Logan found five color bearers dead in their places. In this battle Logan had no time to get up his artillery, and in this most brilliant repulse of the repeated attacks of the enemy, relied almost entirely upon his musketry. The report states that he was himself on that day a host, riding along the entire line with an electric word for each brave regiment, swinging his hat and cheering when the bullets rained thickest, his strong voice rising high above the roar of the fight. The splendid enthusiasm of the leader inspired the troops with a like temper, if such inspiration were needed, and insured their invincibility had it been for a moment doubtful. "There are more than we," said the General, "but we can whip them every time—every fifteen minutes a day."

One who witnessed this battle says of it: "General Hardee's veteran corps made five or six assaults in column of regiments, which were bravely met by the fifteenth corps. Once the enemy broke our line and surrounded two pieces of artillery, but was not suffered to lay hands on the coveted guns. No soldier who witnessed the battle of Dallas will ever forget how grandly Logan looked as, with uncovered head, he dashed down the line on his black war-horse, amid the thickest of the fight. One exultant cheer went up from the soldiers at this daring act of their chief, and fired with the inspiration of the moment they retook the guns and drove the enemy from the field. The enemy's loss must have been heavy, as over three hundred of his dead were left on the field. General Logan received a wound in the arm."

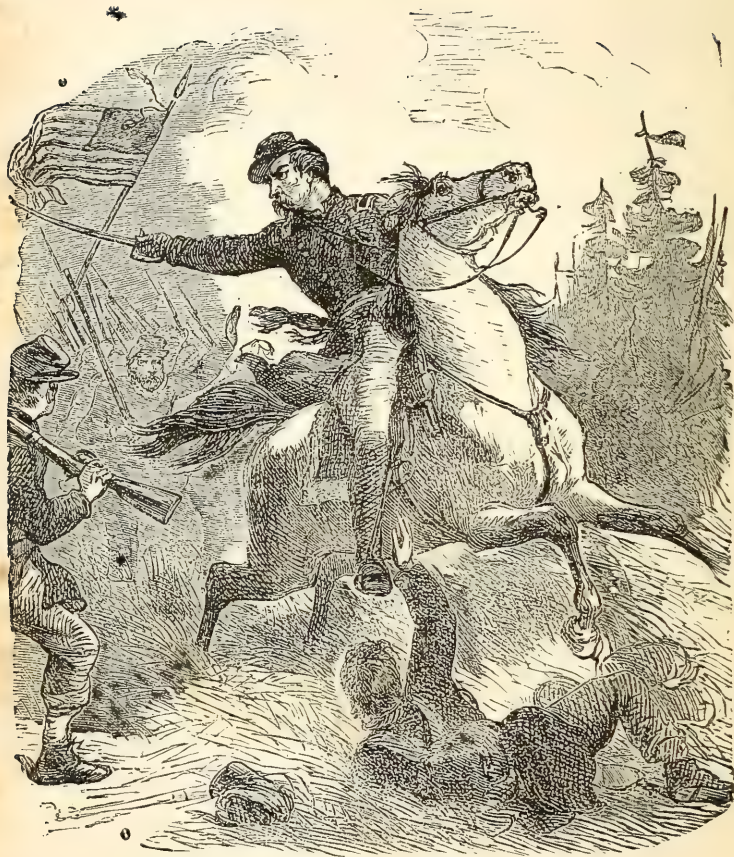
The loss of the enemy was unusually heavy. Three

times he attacked and was as often repulsed. Logan's loss was two hundred and thirty-eight, and he took one hundred and fifty prisoners.

At Dallas also occurred a night attack which was very brilliant and beautiful to behold—a streaming line of fire along the whole front, which, belching from musketry and artillery, lit up with a lurid glare the whole sky, but accomplished nothing save loss of sleep to the tired soldiers.

The Dallas fight was the third of three successive attacks of the enemy since the opening of the campaign, south of the Etowah up to the evening of the twenty-eighth of May. On the twenty-fifth, Hooker was engaged in the center; on the twenty-seventh, Wood on the left flank; but the only real punishment the enemy received was on the twenty-eighth, from General Logan. On the thirtieth, while pointing out to Generals Sherman and McPherson the position of the enemy, Logan was again wounded by a shot through the left arm, but with his arm in a sling continued in the field, the same bullet afterward striking Colonel Taylor in the breast, disabling him.





LOGAN DRIVING THE ENEMY AT KENESAW MOUNTAIN.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BATTLE OF BIG KENESAW MOUNTAIN—THE DESPERATE ASSAULT UPON THE IMPREGNABLE FACE OF LITTLE KENESAW MOUNTAIN—WONDERFUL DISCIPLINE OF OUR BRAVE SOLDIERS OF THE WEST—UNPARALLELED HEROISM OF LOGAN AND HIS MEN—ON, THROUGH MARIETTA AND DECATUR, TO THE FRONT OF ATLANTA.

IN the forward movement of our army, which followed the battle of Dallas, the consequent evacuation of his works by, and the retreat of, the enemy, Logan advanced on the main Marietta road, coming up with the enemy in full force between Big Shanty and Kenesaw Mountain. Sharp skirmishing and artillery practice ensued, and was kept up night and day, almost without interruption, for three weeks, the enemy falling back from one line of works to another, until his line, in Logan's front, rested on the crest of Big Kenesaw Mountain. During this time, the only engagement worthy of note took place on the fifteenth of June, when Logan charged against the enemy's right flank, driving him, amid blood and sweat and slaughter, from his position, killing and wounding many, and taking three hundred and fifty prisoners, twenty-two of whom were commissioned officers. On the twenty-sixth of June Logan moved out from his position and relieved the fourteenth corps in front of Little Kenesaw Mountain.

On the 27th of June the Army of the Tennessee gave the strongest proof exhibited during the campaign of the thorough discipline and complete and unqualified obedience to orders which characterized its commanders and soldiers. Ordered by General Sherman to carry the almost impregnable position of the enemy at Little Kenesaw mountain,

Logan here made one of the most daring, desperate, and heroic charges of the war. Promptly at eight o'clock in the morning General Logan moved to the attack, and after an hour and a quarter had cleared two lines of the most obstinate abattis, carried a line of earthworks at a charge, followed the route of the enemy up his rugged strongholds through a murderous cross-fire of artillery and a perfect storm of bullets, conquered every obstacle, planted the flag at the foot of an insurmountable array of cliffs, threw up defences of logs and stones, and held the line despite the stubborn efforts of the enemy to dislodge him. The average perpendicular height of the precipice against which the charge was made was thirty feet. Along the verge of this the enemy had drawn his line of battle, and his troops, as ours approached, hurled down rocks, clubs, and every conceivable sort of missile that could do our men injury. As Logan and his brave followers attempted to scale the heights of this grim mountain, under the broiling sun, every step was like walking into the yawning pits of Dante's Inferno. Line after line of his men were swept away by the fiery blast above them, till it seemed that all who dared ascend must be mowed down. When he reached this perpendicular rocky barrier and saw his bravest and best, bleeding and dying, and realized the utter impossibility of dislodging the enemy from his rocky fastness, the great tears rolled down brave Logan's face. Nearly every regimental commander of his storming column was either killed or wounded.

Logan's escape untouched on this occasion was little short of miraculous. His loss in this terrible assault was sixty officers and four hundred men killed and wounded. It was not, however, barren of results. During the night of July 3 the enemy evacuated his entire line, and Logan entered Marietta early on the morning of the 4th, capturing several hundred prisoners. The same day Logan moved his command to Nicks-jack creek, on the right of

the army, where the day was celebrated by an artillery fight with Johnson's rear guard while that General was safely and quietly moving across the Chattahoochee toward Atlanta. After several days skirmishing with the enemy, Logan moved to the extreme left, crossing the Chattahoochee by the bridge at Roswell, built by Dodge, and proceeding thence to the Augusta railroad, near Stone Mountain, a distance of fifty miles. After effectually destroying the railroad at this point, Logan moved his command by way of Decatur to the immediate front of the enemy's stronghold, Atlanta, where, after a severe fight, contesting with the enemy the range of hills overlooking it, he arrived and went into position July 21, throwing the first Union shells into that city.

General Logan occupied, on the night of the 21st, an entrenched position, his right being the Army of the Ohio under General Schofield, and on his left the seventeenth corps under Blair. The left flank was to have been occupied by General Dodge, commanding the sixteenth corps, who had been left out on the march of the preceding day by the connection of the fifteenth and seventeenth corps of the Army of the Tennessee. The cavalry command which was covering the flanks of the Army of the Tennessee, reporting to General McPherson, had been, by Sherman's orders, sent off to destroy a bridge near Covington, thus leaving the left flank "in air." The trains were stopped at Decatur, guarded by Sprague, of Ohio, with a brigade.

The severe fighting for the position which the Army of the Tennessee occupied, and which it did not secure until dark on the 21st, led the commanding officers of that army to believe that the enemy was in force in their immediate front, and Generals Logan and Blair made disposition of their troops, under directions of General McPherson, accordingly.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE GREAT BATTLE OF ATLANTA — THE DEATH OF THE GALLANT M'PHERSON—THE HEROIC LOGAN SUCCEEDS HIM—TAKING COMMAND OF AN ARMY FLANKED IN FRONT AND REAR, WITH ITS IDOLIZED COMMANDER KILLED, AND PANIC IMPENDING, LOGAN CONVERTS THREATENED DISASTER INTO VICTORY—"THE BLOODIEST BATTLE OF THE WEST"—LOGAN'S PERSONAL PROWESS—ONE OF THE FINEST BATTLE PICTURES OF THE WAR.

THEN came the battle of Atlanta, the bloodiest fought in the West, and one of the decisive battles of the war. The old soldiers who were there will never forget it, nor Logan, their triumphant chieftain—that heroic soul:

“Who firmly stood where waves of blood
Swept over square and column,
And traced his name with bayonet flame
In Glory's crimson volume!
On battle-field our Nation's shield,
His voice was Freedom's Slogan!
And Victory leapt wild, for she
Had lent her sword to Logan!”

It was the 22d of July, 1864. Hood had succeeded Johnston, and McPherson, finding himself flanked, was riding to the left, when he met his death. The command of the flanked Army of the Tennessee at once devolved on Logan. Surgeon Welch, of the Fifty-third Illinois, describes the panic which seized the seventeenth army corps, and continues: “General Logan, who then took command, on that famous black stallion of his, became a flame of fire and fury, yet keeping wondrous method in his inspired madness. He was everywhere; his horse covered with foam, and himself hatless and begrimed with dirt; perfectly comprehending the position; giving sharp

orders to officers as he met them, and planting himself firmly in front of fleeing columns, with revolver in hand, threatening, in tones not to be mistaken, to fire into the advance did they not instantly halt and form in order of battle. 'He spake, and it was done.' * * * The battle was resumed in order and with fury—a tempest of thunder and fire; a hailstorm of shot and shell. And when night closed down the battle was ended, and we were masters of the field." Some of the regiments that went into that sanguinary conflict strong, came out with but thirty men, and another which went in in the morning with two hundred, came out with but fifteen. But thousands of the enemy bit the dust that day, and though compelled to fight in front and rear, our arms were crowned with victory.

Such, in brief, was the battle of Atlanta. But its details are of such consuming interest that it demands a more extended description: Very early on the morning of the 22d, Lieutenant Willard Warner, of General Sherman's staff, reached the headquarters of General McPherson and said to the latter: "General Sherman believes that the enemy has evacuated Atlanta, and desires you to move rapidly forward beyond the city toward East Point, leaving General Dodge of the sixteenth corps upon the railroad to destroy it effectually." This communication was received by McPherson with a great deal of surprise, and he expressed, without reserve, his doubts as to the correctness of General Sherman's information. However, the order was issued by him to General Logan to carry out the instructions received from Sherman, in the following words:

THREE AND A HALF MILES EAST OF ATLANTA,)
 GEORGIA, July 22, 1864. }

Major General John A. Logan, commanding Fifteenth Army Corps:

The enemy having evacuated their works in front of our lines, the supposition of Major General Sherman is that they have given up Atlanta and are retreating in the direction of East Point.

You will immediately put your command in pursuit to the south and east of Atlanta without entering the town. You will take a route to the left of that taken by the enemy, and try to cut off a portion of them while they are pressed in the rear and on our right by Generals Schofield and Thomas.

Major General Sherman desires and expects a vigorous pursuit.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES B. MCPHERSON, Major-General.

To satisfy himself, McPherson immediately ordered his horse, and, with his staff, rode down to the headquarters of General Logan, and talked over the instructions he had already sent him in writing. Before he reached Logan's headquarters, however, there was firing exchanged between the pickets of our forces and the enemy. In a moment General McPherson was convinced that General Sherman was mistaken in the supposition that the enemy had evacuated Atlanta. He therefore instructed General Logan, who had already prepared his troops for march, to go into position for battle, regardless of the order earlier issued, which later instructions General Logan immediately commenced to carry out, his command going into line under fire. The order was also handed to General Blair, and General Dodge was directed to leave the railroad, and with all dispatch possible take up his position on the left of the seventeenth corps in order to protect that flank, which was even then being turned by the enemy. So completely had the enemy taken Sherman by surprise, that in the absence of the cavalry under Harrow upon McPherson's flank, it became necessary for the orderlies and clerks at headquarters to take guns and form themselves into a picket-guard to keep off the enemy's skirmishers until the headquarters of the Army of the Tennessee could be removed to a place of safety in the front.

In the meantime McPherson had ridden over to Sherman's headquarters and reported to him the disposition that he had made of his troops in violation of Sherman's orders in the morning; secured the assent of Sherman to his course, and

then rode back to see that his own orders to Logan, Blair and Dodge were being promptly and correctly carried out. The exposed position of the seventeenth corps, before referred to, had not been covered when McPherson, about one o'clock (the firing along the line having become general) rode out almost alone, his staff all being occupied in executing his previous orders. In passing through a narrow bridle-path McPherson came upon a body of the enemy's troops—a stray company from Pat Claiborne's division of Hardee's corps—lying down in the woods, who, upon seeing him approach, rose up, the captain (as he said) commanding to halt three times. McPherson, at once supposing it to be some of his own troops, with his usual courteous manner, lifted his hat, but, perceiving that he was in the presence of the enemy, wheeled his horse, was fired upon and killed. The company was captured afterward and the facts as here stated were given by its officers.

Colonel Clark, McPherson's chief of staff, hearing the volley and seeing McPherson's horse come out riderless, being sure that McPherson was either killed or a prisoner, gave orders for the recovery of his body, rode to report the facts to General Sherman, and was directed by him to place General Logan in command of the Army of the Tennessee, he being the ranking officer present. Before leaving Sherman, Colonel Clark secured a division of the Army of the Ohio commanded by General J. D. Cox, who under direction of Major Willard Warner, marched to a position where he could support the Army of the Tennessee in case of emergency.

General Logan assumed command just as the engagement of that day became general, and in person gave the orders, and made disposition of the troops that won the greatest victory in the hardest fought battle of the Atlanta campaign. In person he recovered the position lost by the right of his corps, and recaptured the twenty-pound Parrott battery of Captain Grees. In person he directed the

movement of the troops which repelled the seven successive charges of the enemy upon his line, and not until twelve o'clock at night, when his weary but victorious soldiers were at rest, did he leave his command to go and report to General Sherman the successes of the day. He was received at General Sherman's headquarters with enthusiasm and, for his noble conduct in all the critical hours of that day, complimented in the highest terms by General Sherman and was assured of the permanent command of that Army which he had on that day shown himself entitled to lead.

General Sherman, referring to this battle, says: "I rode over it (meaning the line) the next day, and it bore the marks of a bloody conflict. The enemy had retired during that night inside of Atlanta, and we remained masters of the situation outside."

On the next day, the twenty-third, by the direction of General Logan, Colonel Clark, his chief of staff, received a flag of truce from General Hood, requesting permission to bury the enemy's dead.

General Logan's summary report of the battle of Atlanta is in these modest words:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE, }
BEFORE ATLANTA, GEORGIA, July 24, 1864. }

General: I have the honor to report the following summary of the result of the battle of the 22d inst.: Total loss in killed, wounded and missing, three thousand five hundred and twenty-one (3,521), and ten pieces (10) of artillery. We have buried and delivered to the enemy, under a flag of truce sent in by them, in front of the seventeenth corps, one thousand (1,000) of their killed; the number of their dead in front of the fourth division of the same corps, including those on ground not now occupied by our troops, General Blair reports will swell the number of their dead on his front to two thousand (2,000). The number of dead buried in front of the fifteenth corps up to this hour is three hundred and sixty (360), and the commanding officer reports at least as many more are unburied. The number of dead, buried in front of the sixteenth corps, was four hundred and twenty-two (422).

We have over one thousand (1,000) of their wounded in our hands, a larger number of wounded having been carried off by them during the night after the engagement.

We captured eighteen (18) stands of colors, and have them now; also captured five thousand (5,000) stands of arms.

The attack was made on our line seven times, and was seven times repulsed; Hood's, Hardee's, and Wheeler's cavalry engaged us. We have sent to the rear one thousand (1,000) prisoners, including thirty-seven (37) commissioned officers of high rank. We still occupy the field, and the troops are in fine spirits.

Our total loss is three thousand five hundred and twenty-one (3,521); the enemy's dead thus far reported buried or delivered to them is three thousand two hundred and twenty (3,220); total prisoners sent north, one thousand and seventeen (1,017); total prisoners wounded in our hands, one thousand (1,000); estimated loss of the enemy over ten thousand (10,000).

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN, Major-General.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN, commanding Military Division of the Mississippi.

After describing the manner in which the lamented General McPherson fell, Surgeon John M. Woodworth writes: "Thus fell the noble McPherson, just at the first flush of the battle, leaving the command of the army to the no less brave and gallant General Logan. By 1 o'clock p.m. the contest had become general, and the roll of musketry and roar of artillery continued without interruption until darkness closed the mad conflict. The battle throughout the day was most desperate, our men often fighting the enemy in front, then changing fronts and from the reverse of their works engaging the swarming rebels in the rear. Time after time they charged directly up to our entrenchments where the conflict became fierce and deadly. Regimental commanders with their colors, and such brave men as would follow them, not infrequently occupied one side of the works and our own men the other; the flags of opposing regiments met on opposite sides of the same embankment, and were flaunted by their respective bearers into each other's faces; men were bayo-

neted across the works, and officers with their swords fought hand to hand with men with bayonets. One rebel colonel (Forty-fifth Alabama) was pulled by his coat-collar over the works and made prisoner. At one time the enemy broke through the line of the fifteenth corps, which had been much weakened by the withdrawal of troops to re-enforce other portions of the line, and captured two batteries of artillery. At the moment when this occurred General Logan was at the extreme left, but hearing of the disaster he hastened to his old corps, and calling upon the men who had never failed him in the hour of danger, they soon rallied and retook the guns and their lost position. With the darkness terminated the battle of the 22d of July, which cost us three thousand seven hundred and twenty-two patriotic soldiers. With men less brave or a less determined and skillful leader than Logan proved himself to be, the unexampled record of the Army of the Tennessee had closed its history with a defeat but little short of annihilation. Late that night, while the writer was seated alone with General Logan under his tent-fly, recounting the incidents of the day, Logan made use of the following emphatic language: "*I made up my mind to win the fight, or never come out alive, for,*" said he, "had our army suffered defeat, the people at home never would realize how desperate the struggle against such great odds, but would say, had McPherson lived, the result would have been different." The enemy's dead were computed by General Logan at three thousand two hundred and forty.

General Sherman in his official report says: "I entertain no doubt that in the battle of July 22 the enemy sustained an aggregate loss of full eight thousand men."

General Sherman also in his report alluding to the death of McPherson said: "General Logan succeeded him and commanded the Army of the Tennessee through this desperate battle with the same success and ability that

had characterized him in the command of a corps or a division."

In a letter of August 16, addressed to General Halleck, General Sherman also said: "General Logan fought that battle out as required, unaided, save by a small brigade sent by my orders."

General Grant also in his official report of the battle of Atlanta says: "About 1 o'clock p.m. of this day (July 22) the brave and accomplished, and noble-hearted McPherson was killed. General Logan succeeded him, and commanded the Army of the Tennessee through this desperate battle *and until he was superseded by Major General Howard on the 27th*, with the same success and ability that had characterized him in the command of a corps or division."

Another writer, glancing at this terrible battle, says: "Logan, fighting at one moment on one side of his works, and the next on the other, was informed of the death, in another part of the field, of the beloved McPherson. Assuming the temporary command, Logan dashed impetuously from one end to the other of his hardly-pressed lines, shouting 'McPherson and revenge!' His emotion communicated itself to the troops with the rapidity of electricity, and eight thousand rebel dead and wounded left upon the field at nightfall bore mute witness to their love for the fallen chief and the bravery of his successor."

In the course of an interesting address at Carbondale, Illinois, July 22, 1869, to the surviving members of his old Thirty-first Illinois Regiment, General Logan himself briefly referred to this sanguinary battle in the following words:

"The 22d day of July is the day you have selected for your annual meeting, and there is an appropriateness in the selection, for it is a day you will never forget. I well remember it, and so do you. We were in the heart of the enemy's country, and he strongly entrenched.

Early in the morning, the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth corps were ordered to move forward. I was in command of the fifteenth, and you belonged to the seventeenth—General Leggett's. When the advance was ordered, your regiment was put in line of battle, and when the attack was made, a part of my own command and a part of the division you were in was driven back, and there McPherson fell—as brave and gallant a man as ever breathed the breath of life. Being the second in command, and the next senior officer, I took his place, and there, from early morn till late at night, raged the bloodiest battle in the West. During that day I often passed the line commanded by General Leggett, and witnessed the gallant stand your regiment made. You were engaged in the very hottest of the fight, and many of your officers and men fell, covered with glory. And when the light of heaven began to fade, I rode along the shattered lines. Some regiments that went into the battle strong came out with thirty men. I well remember the Twentieth Illinois. Two hundred men went in in the morning, and fifteen stacked their arms at night. I do not remember how many of your regiment fell, but I do remember that it was a terrible battle. We lost in killed, wounded and prisoners some four thousand gallant men, and the enemy over eight thousand; but it was one of the decisive battles of the war, and more men were killed than in any other battle in the West during the whole war. You have selected that day, the 22d of July, which commemorates the battle of Atlanta, as the day for your annual reunion, and I think it well, for on that day your regiment suffered heavily.”

But probably the most vivid description both of McPherson's death and of the scenes which followed it, was that which fell from his own impassioned lips in his oration at the unveiling of the McPherson statue at Washington, D. C. On that occasion General Logan stated that on the

morning of the 22d of July, 1864, Hood, having relieved Johnston on the 19th, and with a heavy force had contested in vain the occupation, by McPherson, of Decatur, during the 21st, McPherson received orders from Sherman to push forward at once, as the enemy had abandoned Atlanta; that, after giving orders to advance, McPherson, accompanied by Logan, rode to the front, found that Atlanta had not been evacuated, and, countermanding the order for the forward movement, ordered Dodge to the left, and rode to Sherman's headquarters to explain to him the real situation.

General Logan continued in these words: "While doing so, firing was heard to the left and in the direction of Decatur. The enemy had turned our flank. Hastening at once to the left, sending his staff in every direction to bring up all the available forces to strengthen his lines, he, with a single orderly, rode into a blind path leading to General Giles A. Smith's division. Here he was met by a stray detachment of Pat Claiborne's command, who hailed him and then delivered a volley, killing him. This was a little after twelve o'clock. A staff officer immediately notified General Sherman of his death, and I was placed in command. At once General McPherson's staff reported to me, and aided me with the ability, promptness, and courage which made them so valuable in their services to him.

"Right and left, left and right, like a weaver's shuttle, went the Army of the Tennessee athwart the serried ways, amid heat and dust, shot and shell, blood and tears, weaving the crimson net-work of revenge, till the field was in the bloody toils and fairly won. * * *

"The news of his death spread with lightning speed along the lines, sending a pang of deepest sorrow to every heart as it reached the ear; but especially terrible was the effect on the Army of the Tennessee. It seemed as though a burning fiery dart had pierced every breast, tearing

asunder the flood-gates of grief, but at the same time heaving to their very depths the fountains of revenge. The clinched hands seemed to sink into the weapons they held, and from the eyes gleamed forth flashes terrible as lightning. The cry, 'McPherson! McPherson!' rose above the din of battle, and, as it rang along the line, swelled in power until the roll of musketry and booming of cannon seemed drowned by its echoes.

"McPherson again seemed to lead his troops—and where McPherson leads, victory is sure. Each officer and soldier, from the succeeding commander to the lowest private, beheld, as it were, the form of their bleeding chief leading them onward to battle. 'McPherson!' and 'Onward to victory!' were their only thoughts; bitter, terrible revenge, their only aim. There was no such thought that day as stopping short of victory or death. The firm, spontaneous resolve was to win the day or perish with their slain leader on the bloody field. Fearfully was his death avenged that day. His army, maddened by his death, and utterly reckless of life, rushed with savage delight into the fiercest onslaughts, and fearlessly plunged into the very jaws of death. As wave after wave of Hood's daring troops dashed with terrible fury upon our lines, they were hurled back with a fearful shock, breaking their columns into fragments as the granite headland breaks into foam the ocean billows. Across the narrow line of works raged the fierce storm of battle, the hissing shot and bursting shell raining death on every hand.

"Over dead and dying friends and foes rushed the swaying hosts, the shout of rebels confident of victory only drowned by the battle-cry, 'McPherson!' which went up from the Army of the Tennessee. Twenty thousand gallant men bit the dust ere the night closed in, and the defeated and baffled enemy, after failing in his repeated and desperate assaults upon our lines, was compelled to

give up the hopeless contest. Though compelled to fight in front and rear, victory crowned our arms.

“The foe, angry and sullen, moved slowly and stubbornly from the well-contested field, where his high hopes of victory had been so sadly disappointed. Following up the advantage gained—and many minor contests ensued during our stay in front of Atlanta—the Army of the Tennessee moved on to Jonesboro, where it met the enemy on the 31st of August, and routed him completely, effectually demoralizing his forces. It was then that the roar of our victorious guns, mingling with deafening peals, announced that the rebel general, conquered and dismayed, had blown up his magazines and evacuated Atlanta, and that the last stronghold of the West was ours.”

It will be observed that on rare occasions when General Logan has been induced to allude to or describe battle-scenes in which he was the hero, he barely, and in the most casual manner alludes to himself. With the characteristic modesty of a chivalric nature he loves to dwell upon the services of his subordinate officers, and the dauntless valor of his troops. We have heard, however, what Surgeon Welch and other officers say of the inspired hero of Atlanta. Let us now hear the brief and vivid tribute (through another) of one of the private soldiers who fought in the ranks of the Union Army on that gory field.

One of Logan's “boys” then carrying a musket, but now handling another kind of “shooting-stick,” said to the writer: “Never shall I forget—never will one of us who survived that desperate fight, forget to our dying day—the grand spectacle presented by Logan as he rode up and down in front of the line, his black eyes flashing fire, his long black hair streaming in the wind, bareheaded, and his service-worn slouch hat swinging in his bridle hand and his sword flashing in the other, crying out in stentorian tones, ‘Boys! McPherson and revenge!’ Why,” said he, “it made my blood run both hot and cold, and moved

every man of us to follow to the death the brave and magnificent hero-ideal of a soldier who made this resistless appeal to all that is brave and gallant in a soldier's heart; and this, too, when the very air was alive with whistling bullets and howling shell! And if he could only have been painted as he swept up and down the line on a steed as full of fire as his glorious rider, it would to-day be one of the finest battle pictures of the war."

Called to the temporary command as we have seen, of the Army of the Tennessee, at that supremely critical moment when, flanked, and with its idolized leader slain, a panic had set in which threatened the whole army, and disaster and utter rout impended, one would naturally suppose that he who, by the magic of his presence and bearing, and almost superhuman skill and exertion and intrepidity, had not only saved the army, but snatched victory from the very jaws of defeat, would have received at once the permanent command of it. It strikes one therefore with a sense of injustice to learn that, after this glorious victory: "By order of the President, General Howard assumed command." This was upon the recommendation of General Sherman, who admitted that General Logan was entitled to the position, "but was not an academy man."

Still, Logan—who must have felt this injustice—neither sulked nor murmured, but, resuming the immediate command of his corps, marched on to gather other laurels.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ANOTHER FLANK MOVEMENT IN A PITCH-DARK NIGHT, WITH LOGAN ALL NIGHT IN THE SADDLE—LOGAN'S MILITARY SKILL DISPLAYED—HOWARD'S APPOINTMENT TO COMMAND THE ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE—WITHOUT A WORD LOGAN RETURNS TO HIS BRAVE CORPS—THE DESPERATE BATTLE OF EZRA CHAPEL—LOGAN'S CORPS DEFEATS THE ENEMY'S ARMY, REPULSING SIX GALLANT CHARGES.

THE Army of the Tennessee never recovered from a severe battle with more confidence in their leader, nor was the *esprit de corps* more manifest at any time than in the days succeeding the battle of Atlanta while Logan remained in command. He was received everywhere among them with the greatest enthusiasm and with the heartiest congratulations that he was in future to be their leader.

The time was occupied until the evening of the twenty-sixth of July, in reorganizing the various commands, performing the last offices to the gallant dead, and preparing for the next movement, which was as usual, by the flank, but this time to the right. It is but fair to say that a more difficult and delicate movement of an army than this was not undertaken during the war. The enemy was entrenched closely in Logan's front, almost within speaking distance on many parts of the line, when the order came from General Sherman to withdraw under cover of night from that position and move the three corps seven miles to the right. It was necessary to deceive the enemy entirely as to this movement, and the wheels of the gun-carriages and caissons were bound with wisps of hay and straw, in order that the utmost silence might prevail as the Army of the Tennessee moved out from its position. General Logan was in his

saddle all night long and, with his staff, personally superintended the movements of every corps. They moved without the slightest confusion. By daylight of the twenty-seventh the corps of the entire Army of the Tennessee were safely upon their respective roads, prepared to go into their new position, and this without any casualty, leaving the enemy in complete ignorance of the withdrawal. The military talent displayed by Logan on this occasion was remarkable when it is considered that the darkness of the night was such that the entire command was obliged almost to feel its way—it being impracticable to use any light, even that of a torch, with which to guide the troops.

Overcome with fatigue and anxiety resulting from the sudden responsibility of the command of this army in the battle of the twenty-second, and this delicate movement in the face of the enemy, General Logan, on the morning of the twenty-seventh, at the White House, where General Sherman was quartered, was informed that General O. O. Howard had been appointed to the command of the Army of the Tennessee. Without a word, however, General Logan resumed command of his old corps, the fifteenth, and during the twenty-seventh went into position on the right of the line, General Blair of the seventeenth corps on his left, and General Dodge of the sixteenth, upon the left flank.

The rain poured in torrents as the army took up its position on that day, and it was late in the evening before the troops were all deployed. Again the Army of the Tennessee was, by its right flank, “in air.” The enemy was discovered late in the day again upon that flank, and, as the Army of the Tennessee could not reach so as to secure a position not easily turned, General Sherman ordered General Jeff. C. Davis, with his division, to move at once and support the right flank.

The morning of the 28th found the Army of the Ten-

nessee confronting again the enemy. Hardly had the fifteenth corps, under Logan, thrown up their earthworks, with logs and rails covering in their front, when Hood came at him again. By 11 o'clock a.m., the fighting became general along his entire line, and then occurred another most desperate battle in which General Logan with his corps was exclusively engaged on our side. Six times did the enemy deploy from the woods in Logan's front, and six times, with words of encouragement and threats from their commanding officers they marched up to receive the deadly fire of Logan's troops—and six times were they repulsed with slaughter. Perhaps in the history of the war was never such persistent and desperate gallantry displayed on the part of the enemy, but their defeat was complete, and the reports of this battle of Ezra Chapel show that to Logan and his brave corps alone was due the credit of the victory.

General Sherman, in his report of this battle says:

“General Logan, on this occasion, was conspicuous as on the 22d, his corps being chiefly engaged, but General Howard had drawn from the other corps, the sixteenth and seventeenth, certain reserves, which were near at hand, but *not used*.”

Again, Sherman, speaking of Logan, his corps and this battle, says: “He commanded in person, and that corps, as heretofore reported, *repulsed the rebel army completely*.”

Another writer thus describes this battle of Ezra Chapel:

“The enemy had come out from Atlanta by the burned Ferry road and formed his men in an open field behind a swell of ground, and after the artillery firing I have described, advanced in parallel lines directly against the fifteenth corps expecting to catch that flank ‘in air.’ His advance was impulsive, but founded in an error that cost him sadly, for our men coolly and deliberately cut down his men and, despite the efforts of the rebel officers, his ranks broke and fled. But they were rallied again and again, as often as

six times, at the same point, and a few of the rebel officers and men reached our lines of rail-piles only to be killed or hauled over as prisoners. These assaults occurred from noon until about 4 o'clock p.m., when the enemy disappeared, leaving his dead and wounded in our hands. As many as 642 dead were counted and buried, and still others are known to have been buried that were not counted by the regular detail of burial parties."

Another account of this battle written by a participant runs thus: "With hardly time for the overtaxed soldiers to recover their exhausted energies, the Army of the Tennessee was moved again around to the right of the Union line, and on the morning of the twenty-eighth of July, General Logan, having been relieved from the temporary command of the army by the appointment of General Howard, assumed command of his old corps, and, while moving it into position, in line of battle, on the extreme right of our army, just as he had gained a commanding ridge upon which was situated Ezra Chapel, the whole corps became suddenly and furiously engaged with the enemy. Our troops had not had a moment to construct even the rudest defense, but they had held their position, and, after about one hour of terrific fighting, the enemy retired. He, however, soon reformed, and again made a desperate assault, which was subsequently repeated four successive times, with like results. The temporary lulls in the fighting did not at any time exceed five minutes. It was an open field-fight, in which the enemy, consisting of Hardee's and Lee's corps, greatly exceeded us in numerical strength, but we exceeded him in spirit and determination. The engagement lasted from 11:30 a.m. until darkness compelled a cessation. Logan captured five battle-flags, about two thousand muskets, and one hundred and six prisoners, not including seventy-three wounded left on the field. Over six hundred of the enemy's dead were buried in our front; a large number were probably

carried off during the night, as the enemy did not leave the field until near daylight. Their loss was not less than five thousand. Logan's only reached five hundred and sixty-two."

Following is General Logan's official report of this obstinately fought battle:

HEADQUARTERS FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS BEFORE }
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, July 29, 1864. }

Colonel: I have the honor to report that in pursuance of orders I moved my command in position on the right of the seventeenth army corps, which was the extreme right of the army in the field, on the night and morning of the 27th and 28th instants, and, during my advance to a more desirable position, we were met by the rebel infantry from Hood's and Lee's corps, who made a desperate and determined attack at half-past eleven o'clock on the morning of the twenty-eighth.

My lines were protected only by logs and rails hastily thrown in front of them. The first onset was received and checked, and the battle commenced, lasting until about three o'clock in the afternoon. During that time six successive charges were made, which were six times gallantly repulsed, each time with fearful loss to the enemy. Later in the evening, my lines were several times assaulted vigorously, but terminated with like result. The most of the fighting occurred on Generals Harrow's and Smith's fronts, which formed the centre and right of the line. The troops could not have displayed more courage, nor greater determination not to yield. Had they shown less, they would have been driven from their position. Brigadier Generals Wood's, Harrow's, and Smith's division commands are entitled to great credit for gallant conduct and skill in repelling the assaults. My thanks are due to Major Generals Blair and Dodge for sending me re-enforcements at a time when they were much needed.

My losses are fifty killed, four hundred and thirty-nine wounded, and eighty-three missing; aggregate, five hundred and seventy-two.

The division of General Harrow captured five battle-flags. There were about fifteen hundred or two thousand muskets captured. One hundred and six prisoners were captured, exclusive of seventy-three wounded, who have been removed to hospitals, and are being taken care of by our surgeons; five hundred and sixty-five rebels up to this time have been buried, and about two hundred supposed to be yet unburied. Large numbers were undoubtedly carried away during the night, as the enemy did not withdraw until nearly daylight. The

enemy's loss could not have been, in my judgment, less than six or seven thousand.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN, Major General,

Commanding fifteenth army corps.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL W. T. CLARK, Assistant Adjutant General.

The endorsement upon the above report is as follows:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY OF THE TEN-)
NESSEE BEFORE ATLANTA, GEORGIA, July 29, 1864. {

In forwarding the within report I wish to express my high gratification with the conduct of the troops engaged. I never saw better conduct in battle.

The general commanding the fifteenth army corps, though ill and much worn out, was indefatigable, and the success of the day is as much attributable to him as to any one man. His officers, and in fact all the officers of his army that commanded my observation, co-operated promptly and heartily with him.

O. C. HOWARD, Major General.

CHAPTER XXV.

LOGAN AGAIN WHIPS LEE'S AND HARDEE'S CORPS BADLY AT THE BATTLE OF JONESBORO—CONSEQUENT EVACUATION OF ATLANTA—LOGAN'S PATHETIC ADDRESS TO HIS GALLANT CORPS.

FROM the 29th of July to the 26th of August, Logan continued to push forward his lines, keeping up the usual skirmish and artillery practice night and day, almost without interruption. On the 3d and 11th of August he carried the entire entrenched skirmish-lines of the enemy in his front, capturing several hundred prisoners. In one engagement he lost sixty men, and in the other the killed and wounded numbered ninety-eight.

Sherman having determined to raise the siege of Atlanta and take the field with his whole force and use it against the communications instead of against the entrenchments of the city, on the night of the 26th of August Logan withdrew his corps from its position in front of Atlanta and, moving on the right of the army to the West Point railroad, he destroyed the road for some distance, and marching to Jonesboro' drove the enemy before him from Pond Creek, a distance of ten miles. He arrived in front of Jonesboro' on the evening of August 30th, and, though it was past midnight before his troops had all crossed Flint River, yet at daylight on the morning of the 31st, and without the knowledge of either Sherman or Howard, a strong entrenched line was completed and his corps was in position for defense. Logan, appreciating his situation of isolation from the main army, greatly exposed and liable at any moment to attack, caused his position to be entrenched with great care. The morning was thus spent in strengthening his lines and placing

his artillery in the most commanding positions. He gave to this work, so important at this time, his personal supervision, and was on the ground when, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy (Lee's and Hardee's corps) made a sudden and desperate assault on all points of his front. Every soldier of the fifteenth corps was in the trenches, and ready for the fray. On the enemy came, pushing his lines to within thirty to fifty paces from Logan's works, but the resistance he met was so well directed that he was, in little over an hour of hard fighting, compelled to retire discomfited and in confusion. Many daring acts were performed by the enemy's officers and men. One of his Generals (Major General Patten Anderson), with his staff, rode fearlessly along his lines, doing all that a commander could do to make the assault a success. But four of those who rode with him in that perilous performance of duty, returned from the field—himself, with many of his staff, being shot down. General Logan, in his official report, said of this General: "I could not help admiring his gallantry, though an enemy." The enemy made two subsequent assaults, but with less spirit and determination than the first. They were easily repulsed, though not without terrible loss to him. The enemy's loss in this battle was greater than in any former engagement, except at Ezra Chapel on the 28th of July. Logan captured 241 prisoners and two stand of colors. There were left on the field by the enemy 329 dead and 139 wounded. The total Confederate loss was admitted to be over 2,500. Owing, however, to the protection of good entrenchments, Logan's loss was only 154. This battle virtually decided the fate of Atlanta. The next day Sherman ordered the whole army to close down on Jonesboro', but during the night of September 1st, before this order was executed, the enemy evacuated his position, and at day-dawn on the 2d Logan occupied Jonesboro'. The same night Hood, after blowing up his magazines, evacuated Atlanta.

General Sherman in his report of this battle says: "Hearing the sounds of battle at Jonesboro' about noon, orders were renewed to push with the other movements on the left and center, and about four p.m. the report arrived that General Howard had thoroughly repulsed the enemy at Jonesboro'."

Thus it will be seen that Logan and his corps fought the battle of Jonesboro'—which led to the evacuation of the great stronghold of Atlanta—without the knowledge of Sherman, except so far as he could hear the booming of Logan's victorious guns.

The troops of the other commands of Sherman's army failed to come to time, otherwise the entire army of Hood might have been captured on the thirty-first of August (thus making it unnecessary to fight the subsequent battles of Franklin and Nashville), and with the fall of Atlanta the enemy's entire army of the West would have been destroyed.

The importance, however, of the capture of Atlanta, even without capturing the enemy's army, was sufficiently great to cause unbounded rejoicing in the North and of course corresponding depression in the South.

Among other dispatches received by Sherman, was the following from President Lincoln:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 3, 1864. }

The National thanks are tendered by the President to Major General W. T. Sherman and the gallant officers and soldiers of his command before Atlanta, for the distinguished ability and perseverance displayed in the campaign in Georgia, which, under Divine favor, has resulted in the capture of Atlanta. The marches, battles, sieges, and other military operations that have signalized the campaign, must render it famous in the annals of war, and have entitled those who have participated therein to the applause and thanks of the nation.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
President of the United States.

Another, from General Grant, was in the following words:

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, September 4, 1864—9 p.m.

Major General Sherman: I have just received your dispatch announcing the capture of Atlanta. In honor of your great victory, I have ordered a salute to be fired with *shotted* guns from every battery bearing upon the enemy. The salute will be fired within an hour, amid great rejoicing.

U. S. GRANT,

Lieutenant General.

From Jonesboro', Logan pursued the flying enemy to Lovejoy's where he made another stand. Logan again had him in flank, and desired again to attack him and accomplish what the army had failed to do on the thirty-first of August by reason of the want of co-operation of the other troops of General Sherman's command, but in the meantime Atlanta had fallen, and Sherman, satisfied with the glory he had achieved in its capture—although, as he says in his "Memoirs," "neither Atlanta, nor Augusta, nor Savannah, was the objective, but the *army of Jos. Johnston* (now however under Hood's command), *go where it might*"—decided, as he says, "not to attempt at that time a further pursuit of Hood's army, but slowly and deliberately to move back, occupy Atlanta, enjoy a short period of rest, and to think well over the next step required in the progress of events." Accordingly early in September, in obedience to orders the Army of the Tennessee found itself in camp at East Point, Georgia, and a few days later General Logan issued the following stirring and patriotic address to his victorious command:

HEADQUARTERS FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS, EAST POINT, }
 GEORGIA, September 11, 1864. }

Officers and Soldiers of the Fifteenth Army Corps: You have borne your part in the accomplishment of the object of this campaign, a part well and faithfully done.

On the first day of May, 1864, from Huntsville, Ala., and its vicinity, you commenced the march. The marches and labors performed by you during this campaign will hardly find a parallel in

the history of war. The proud name heretofore acquired by the fifteenth corps for soldierly bearing and daring deeds remains untarnished, its lustre undimmed. During the campaign you constituted the main portion of the flanking column of the whole army. Your first move against the enemy was around the right of the army at Resaca, where, by your gallantry, the enemy were driven from the hills and his works on the main road from Vilanow to Resaca. On the retreat of the enemy, you moved on the right flank of the army by a circuitous route to Adairsville, in the same manner from there to Kingston and Dallas, where, on the twenty-eighth day of May, you met the veteran corps of Hardee, and in a severe and bloody contest you hurled him back, killing and wounding over two thousand, besides capturing a large number of prisoners. You then moved around to the left of the army, by way of Acworth, to Kenesaw Mountain, where again you met the enemy, driving him from three lines of works, capturing over three hundred prisoners. During your stay in front of Kenesaw Mountain, on the twenty-seventh of June, you made one of the most daring, bold and heroic charges of the war, against the almost impregnable position of the enemy on Little Kenesaw. You were then moved, by way of Marietta, to Nickajack Creek, on the right of the army; thence back to the extreme left, by way of Marietta and Roswell, to the Augusta railroad, near Stone Mountain, a distance of fifty miles, and, after effectually destroying the railroad at this point, you moved by way of Decatur to the immediate front of the rebel stronghold, Atlanta.

Here, on the 22d day of July, you again performed your duty nobly "as patriots and soldiers" in one of the most severe and sanguinary conflicts of the campaign. With hardly time to recover your almost exhausted energies, you were moved again around to the right of the army, only to encounter the same troops against whom you had so recently contended, and the battle of the 28th of July, at Ezra Chapel, will long be remembered by the officers and soldiers of this command. On that day it was the fifteenth corps, almost unaided and alone, for four hours contested the field against the corps of Hardee and Lee. You drove them discomfited from the field, causing them to leave their dead and many of their wounded in your hands. The many noble and gallant deeds performed by you on that day will be remembered among the proudest acts of our Nation's history. After pressing the enemy closely for several days, you again moved to the right of the army, to the West Point Railroad, near Fairburn; after completely destroying the road for some distance you marched to Jonesboro', driving the enemy before you from Pond Creek, a dis-

tance of ten miles. At this point you again met the enemy, composed of Lee's and Hardee's corps, on the 31st of August, and punished them severely, driving them in confusion from the field, with their dead and many wounded and prisoners left in your hands. Here, again, by your skill and true courage you kept sacred the reputation you have so long maintained, viz.: 'The fifteenth corps never meets the enemy but to strike and defeat him.' On the 1st of September, the fourteenth corps attacked Hardee, you at once opened fire on him, and by your co-operation his defeat became a rout. Hood, hearing the news, blew up his ammunition trains, retreated, and Atlanta *was ours*.

You have marched during the campaign, in your windings, the distance of four hundred miles; have put *hors du combat* more of the enemy than your corps numbers; have captured twelve stands of colors, two thousand four hundred and fifty prisoners and two hundred and ten deserters.

The course of your march is marked by the graves of patriotic heroes who have fallen by your side; but at the same time it is more plainly marked by the blood of traitors who have defied the Constitution and laws, insulted and trampled under foot the glorious flag of our country.

We deeply sympathize with the friends of those of our comrades-in-arms who have fallen; our sorrows are only appeased by the knowledge that they fell as brave men, battling for the preservation and perpetuation of one of the best governments on earth. "Peace be to their ashes."

You now rest for a short time from your labors. During the respite prepare for future action. Let your country see at all times by your conduct that you love the cause you have espoused; that you have no sympathy with any who would by word or deed assist vile traitors in dismembering our mighty republic or trailing in the dust the emblem of our national greatness and glory. You are the defenders of a government that has blessed you heretofore with peace, happiness and prosperity. Its perpetuity depends upon your heroism, faithfulness and devotion.

When the time shall come to go forward again, let us go with the determination to save our nation from threatened wreck and hopeless ruin, not forgetting the appeal from widows and orphans that is borne to us upon every breeze to avenge the loss of their loved ones who have fallen in defense of their country. Be patient, obedient and earnest, and the day is not far distant when you can return to your homes with the proud consolation that you have assisted in causing

the old banner to again wave from every mountain's top and over every town and hamlet of our once happy land, and hear the shouts of triumph ascend from a grateful people, proclaiming that once more we have one flag and one country.

JOHN A. LOGAN,
Major General Commanding.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ANOTHER INTERLUDE—LOGAN ON THE STUMP AGAIN, DEFENDING THE PARTY OF THE UNION—ASSIGNED TO THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND—LOGAN PERFORMS AN ACT OF RARE MAGNANIMITY—HE ACCORDINGLY REJOINS HIS OLD CORPS AT SAVANNAH.

AFTER the termination of the Atlanta campaign—in which he had borne so gallant and conspicuous a part—Logan, again upon the suggestion of his superiors, took another leave of absence and went north, to stump the Western states during the Presidential campaign of 1864. The same influence which, as we have seen, rallied the Democrats of Egypt to the flag of their country upon the first call to arms, was again brought to bear upon them to support and vote for the Republican ticket. Logan worked in this cause like a giant, and, with his rare eloquence of speech and manner and his personal magnetism, succeeded in winning them over; they hailed him again as their political leader and followed his guidance; but he persistently declined all offices tendered to him, declaring as he did so that he was a soldier and would not leave the service nor lay down his sword, so long as there remained one rebel in arms against the government. Alluding to what General Logan did at this time, the *New Era* (Illinois) subsequently said: “During the campaign in '64, he came home and battled for Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party, and certainly contributed as much to the success of the party in this State and Indiana as any other man. While he was doing this—fighting rebels in the field and their friends at home—many men who have always been supported by the party were lukewarm in the cause

of the country and the party. General Logan took bold and decided grounds at once, and advocated using any and all means to put down the rebellion and sustain Mr. Lincoln's administration, while many others now prominent in the Republican ranks were grumbling and complaining at many things done to suppress opposition to the government."

General Logan's labor for the government, in the political arena prevented his return to his command before communications with Atlanta were severed. At the conclusion of the political campaign, however, he was called to Washington and ordered to proceed to Nashville to assume command of the army of the Cumberland, then under General Thomas. With the order of supercedure in his pocket he reached Louisville, Kentucky, and there, learning that General Thomas had attacked the enemy in front of Nashville, and believing in that General's ability to conduct the engagement to a successful issue, not only kept the document in his pocket without presenting it to Thomas, but immediately telegraphed to General Grant, suggesting that Thomas should not be superceded.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HE ESTABLISHES THE FIFTEENTH CORPS IN COMFORTABLE QUARTERS—RETURNS TO ILLINOIS AMID GREAT REJOICING OF HER PEOPLE—MASS MEETING AT CARBONDALE—HIS ELOQUENT AND IMPASSIONED SPEECHES—HIS RETURN TO THE FIELD AND HIS PROMOTION—ASSUMES COMMAND OF THREE ARMY CORPS—STRONG SENSE OF DUTY—RESUMES COMMAND OF THE FIFTEENTH CORPS—MID-WINTER CAMPAIGN—AS A VOLUNTEER FIREMAN—GENERAL LOGAN AS HE APPEARED AT THE FINAL GRAND REVIEW OF TROOPS AT WASHINGTON.

AFTER the fall of Atlanta, early in September, 1864, the army was placed in encampments near the city with the intention of giving it a rest so much needed after the fatigues of the marches and battles of the preceding four months. When he had properly established the fifteenth corps in comfortable quarters and properly provided for its wants, General Logan obtained a leave of absence to visit his family at Carbondale, Illinois. It was his intention to remain but a short time at home, his wish being to accompany his command, and participate in all future movements of the army in which he had served so long. His return to Illinois created great rejoicing among his old friends. The Presidential campaign between Mr. Lincoln and General McClellan was at the height of its interest and excitement. When General Logan reached home he was at once invited to address the people upon the all-absorbing political topics of the day, and he consented to do so. A large mass of people assembled at Carbondale on the day appointed, and General Logan delivered one of the most eloquent and impassioned

speeches that ever fell from his lips. He insisted that the great issue between the parties was, whether the war should be prosecuted to the final overthrow of the rebellion, and the Union thus saved, or whether the war should be declared a failure as announced by the Democratic party. He urged his old friends to stand by the constituted authorities of the country and vote for Mr. Lincoln.

This speech had a powerful effect; it was published and commented upon by the newspapers in various parts of the State. Logan had, as a Democrat, opposed the election of Mr. Lincoln in 1860, and as a candidate for Congress had received almost the unanimous vote of the people of Southern Illinois. Now he urged the men who supported him in 1860 as a Democrat to support the Republican nominee for President as the only means of saving the Union, and as a patriotic duty they owed to their country.

The General was invited to make a number of speeches, and it soon became obvious that his efforts in this direction would be of great value to the Union cause. Finally, President Lincoln caused it to be communicated to General Logan that he would be glad to have him continue in the political campaign until the election.

And so it came to pass that General Logan, for the reasons above mentioned, was not with the army during the movements of Hood in October against General Sherman's line of communication, nor did he accompany General Sherman on the famous march to the sea, the troops being on the march to assemble at Atlanta on the day of election.

The natural logic of General Logan's line of conduct, from the battle of Bull Run to the fall of Atlanta, was that he should support Mr. Lincoln for re-election, but certain things had but recently occurred, which, in the estimation of many who considered the subject at the time, would have justified him in withholding that laborious and earnest support which he gave him.

If ever a soldier won the right to retain a higher command, which had devolved upon him by the casualties of war, General Logan won it on the bloody field of July 22, 1864, after the fall of McPherson.

He had during the preceding three years been directly engaged in the great events of the war in the West, and had successively risen from the rank of Colonel to that of Major General, and from the command of a regiment to that of the fifteenth army corps, and had rendered most valuable, conspicuous, and gallant service in every position. At last in the midst of one of the bloodiest battles of the war he was suddenly compelled to assume command in the field of three army corps, and he handled them with such skill and inspired them with such enthusiasm that he turned what at one time seemed inevitable defeat into a great victory. The army felt that Logan had honorably won his spurs and would be allowed to wear them; but, upon the recommendation of General Sherman, within a week, President Lincoln assigned General O. O. Howard to the command of the Army of the Tennessee, and General Logan was sent back to his corps.

It is needless to say that the action was a great disappointment to him, and was justly considered by him as a gross injustice. At this day no one would undertake to impute to General Sherman or President Lincoln any improper motives for their action in the matter, but the fact remains that when General Logan returned to Illinois, in the fall of 1864, he was smarting under what he considered a grievous injury. Nevertheless, we find that his sense of duty rose above the feeling of personal wrong, and he entered into the campaign in support of Mr. Lincoln as arduously and as enthusiastically as though no cause of complaint had ever arisen.

After General Sherman had captured Savannah, General Logan went to that place by sea and resumed command

of the fifteenth army corps, and made ready for the great campaign through the Carolinas.

About the 15th of January, 1865, this movement began by assembling the army at Pocotalico and other points in South Carolina. The march began on February 1, 1865. The object of the campaign was of course to whip the enemy wherever found, but the chief end in view was to seize all the great railroad centres in South and North Carolina and utterly destroy the system of railroads in those States so as to effectually break up the lines of communication with Lee's army at Richmond and Petersburg and to place the great victorious army of Georgia in a position to co-operate with General Grant in the final movements which were to overthrow the military power of the confederacy. By a series of well-directed movements which induced the rebel Generals to believe that Sherman intended to attack both Augusta and Savannah, and thereby prevented the concentration of the considerable forces which were stationed at various points in Georgia and South Carolina, the army moved forward steadily, driving such forces as were assembled to impede its way.

This campaign was undertaken in mid-winter; the weather from the start was unusually inclement and stormy; the rivers and smaller streams overflowed their banks; swamps were full of water, and the roads were almost impassable. The enemy, constantly on the alert, destroyed bridges, obstructed roads, and hung upon the flanks of the army. In fifty days the army had concluded "one of the longest and most important marches ever made by an organized army in a civilized country." It had marched from Savannah to Goldsboro, a distance of four hundred and twenty-five miles; it had crossed six navigable rivers, to wit: the Savannah, Edisto, Broad, Catawba, Pedee, and Cape Fear; it had fought battles, captured important points by direct movement, and had

so demoralized the Confederate generals that they abandoned Charleston, Wilmington, and other important points, and, in sending out their munitions of war, for safety placed them at points on the line of its march, where they were seized and either used or destroyed. During this part of that memorable campaign, General Logan performed his duty with the masterly skill which had characterized his services during the whole of the war.

When half the city of Columbia was wrapped in flames General Logan made superhuman efforts to extinguish the fire, working all night long with his officers and men to control the fire which was swept from house to house by the high gale which prevailed at the time.

In the movements from Goldsboro against General Joe Johnston's army at Raleigh, General Logan led his corps. When the negotiations were pending for the surrender of Johnston's army, General Logan advised the granting of generous terms of surrender, so as to end the bloody strife and prevent the dispersion of the Confederate Army into bands, the capture of which would involve enormous time and loss of life. When the Confederate Army finally laid down its arms, General Logan led his impatient corps northward to Washington in a march made memorable by the splendid discipline and conduct of the troops, and the rapidity with which the march was made.

Upon reaching Washington at the head of his bronzed, scar-worn veterans, he participated in the grand review of Sherman's army by the President. The city was full of people, the streets and avenues were lined with an eager throng of patriotic and happy people, who were rejoicing over the fact that the war was over, the Union was saved, and that the mighty host of patriot soldiers, whose martial tread had entered and shook to its centre nearly every one of the revolted States, was about to return to their homes

and loved ones. No figure was more conspicuous on that occasion than General Logan. Going out in July, 1861, as a citizen to defend the National Capital in the first bloody battle of the war, he came back to Washington at the head of his victorious corps to receive the plaudits of the people.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

IT will be seen from what has gone before, that General Logan has been in the most active arena of civil, military, and political life. He has been a conspicuous character upon every field of endeavor upon which he has entered. At a very early period in his career and when he was quite a young man, he was accorded that leadership which is always given to those men who are recognized as possessing accuracy of judgment, promptitude and courage in grappling with public questions, and devotion to the interests of the masses of the people. As a Democrat, he fearlessly separated himself from an administration which as an elector he assisted in bringing into power, and with all the energy of his nature entered into a contest with the slave power backed up by a Democratic administration, for the establishment of slavery in the Territory of Kansas by force and fraud; and while he was equally earnest in his opposition to the Republican idea of congressional control of the subject of slavery in the Territories, he stood up manfully for what he conceived to be the true doctrine of the Constitution, that is to say: the right of the people of the Territories when organized into territorial form of government, to decide for themselves without the interference of congressional legislation, the question whether slavery should exist within their limits or not. To him this doctrine seemed the one ground upon which the country could rest in peace in regard to the question of slavery.

When, after the election of Mr. Lincoln, the Southern States passed ordinances of secession and sought to separate themselves from the Union, Mr. Logan hoped and believed

that with time and a sober second thought there would be returning reason to the Southern mind, and that the excitement of the hour would pass away, and that war with all its attendant horrors, grief, and destruction, would be averted. To this end he worked diligently as long as there seemed to exist a ray of hope, giving his attention to such measures in Congress as seemed calculated to allay the excitement in the public mind and restore peace and harmony to the country. It is a part of the history of those times that with the complete concurrence of their constituency, the great majority of the Republicans in both houses of Congress voted for amendments to the Constitution which at this day are looked upon with amazement, and while the speeches of Republicans and Union Democrats in Congress differed materially in tone, their votes indicated substantially the same sentiment in regard to the importance of tendering to the South the broadest measures of pacification, and few men were willing to take the responsibility to refrain from voting for any measure which was believed to contain elements of concord. But with the expiration of the Thirty-sixth Congress seemed to fade out the last lingering hope of the settlement of the difficulties which agitated the country, through the instrumentality of congressional legislation. When the Thirty-seventh Congress met in special session in July, 1861, under the proclamation of President Lincoln, all men realized the fact that union and disunion were face to face ready to grapple in the terrible struggles of war, and that by the conflict of arms was to be decided the question whether the government established by our forefathers should be maintained as an inheritance for after generations, and whether this mighty nation stretching out from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf, with all its mighty resources of climate and soil, of vast prairies and mineral lands, its mighty rivers and lakes, its valleys and its mountains, with its thirty-six millions of people

should be separated into warring sections and probably the liberties of the people go down in the mighty struggle. With such a man as John A. Logan there could be but one course open for him to pursue, and that was to stand by the Union of the States, and support the lawful administration of the government in its efforts to preserve the Union.

Upon the first bloody field of the war, John A. Logan, musket in hand, fought in the ranks, not as an enlisted man, but as a citizen, who, serving in Congress felt it his duty to go out and meet the enemies of his country in their attempt to seize the national capital. It has been seen that by the 10th of August, 1861, Mr. Logan was at the head of the Thirty-first Illinois Volunteers as its Colonel, and that he was engaged in all the great military operations for the opening of the Mississippi river, for the capture of Atlanta and for the final destruction of the Confederate army.

'onspicious at Belmont, one of the dashing leaders at Donelson where he was severely wounded, at the siege of Corinth during the spring of 1862, and in all the campaigns of that year in Tennessee and Mississippi; advanced to the command of a brigade and afterward to the command of a division, one of the most intrepid, enterprising, and bold commanders in General Grant's army during his operations against Vicksburg, pushing across the Mississippi river in the night time to re-enforce and strengthen the column led by McClernand under the eye of Grant, and pushing forward to the battle of Port Gibson to the sound of the enemy's cannon. At Raymond he gained a splendid victory from the enemy with his own division, advancing with the rest of the army for the capture of Jackson, and two days later led his division into the bloody battle of Champion's Hill, and with splendid military genius detached his division from the main column and moving by a detour, struck the enemy upon his left flank, routed him with great slaughter and thus signally aided

in securing a great victory. Three days later we find him in front of Fort Hill the great salient angle of the rebel fortifications at Vicksburg. Here from the 19th of May until the 4th of July he displayed a degree of enterprise, zeal and courage in prosecuting the siege by saps and mines and assaults, as will be found in the annals of war.

Next we find him at the head of the fifteenth army corps in the great campaign against Atlanta which was almost a continuous daily battle from the 1st of May until the middle of August. At Resaca, at Dallas, at Kenesaw on the 22d and 28th days of July, and during the great flank movement which finally drove Hood from Atlanta, no man performed more arduous labors, and no man appeared to better advantage in the field by the display of those high soldierly qualities of coolness and courage, of resources for attack and defense than he. The battle of the 22d day of July, 1864, must stand out in the history of the war more and more conspicuously as the facts connected with it become more fully known. The battle of the 19th of July had been fought and won by the Army of the Cumberland to gain the important position into which the Army of the Tennessee was placed.

On the night of the twenty-first of July, with an audacity and courage rarely equaled, Hood withdrew the major part of his army from the fortifications of Atlanta, and passing through the left and rear of the Army of the Tennessee, burst upon it the next day like a tornado, penetrating its lines, slaying its commander, and for a time seemed upon the verge of putting the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth army corps to flight. At this critical juncture, the command, by the death of McPherson, devolved upon Logan. He saw the peril of the situation, at once re-enforced the weak points, and by his personal heroic example in riding along the line of men in the midst of the battle, and informing them of the death of McPherson and urging them to hold their position to the

last extremity aroused the whole army to such enthusiastic devotion to duty, such a determination to hold their ground and win the day, that although portions of the command were attacked first in front and then in the rear, and were compelled from time to time to change front to engage the wily foe, they stubbornly held their ground and at last drove Hood's army with dreadful slaughter. The loss of the Confederates was more than three thousand two hundred in killed alone. It must be remembered that this battle was fought at such a distance from General Sherman that he was unable to give any personal commands in regard to its conduct. History has already accorded to General Logan the honor of winning this battle.

After the Atlanta campaign we next find General Logan in his military capacity with Sherman in the great march from Savannah through the Carolinas, where he again maintained and increased his reputation as a commander, participating in all the great marches and battles of the campaign. At last we see him when the Confederate forces have all surrendered, marching upon the capital of the country and participating in the great review when the plaudits of the nation resounded the praises of the men who had preserved the country and saved the Union, and finally at the close of his military career when he voluntarily resigned his commission as a Major General, he was in command of the department and Army of the Tennessee. He entered that army in August, 1861, as a Colonel and left it in 1865 as a Major General.

We next see General Logan as a candidate for Congressman-at-large of the Republicans in Illinois in 1866 and again in 1868. In these campaigns, and in the Congress of the United States to which he was elected, during both of these years he took a leading part before the people and in Congress in the discussion of the questions growing out of the war, advocating the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the reconstruction measures,

and the policy and duty of protecting loyal citizens of the Southern States, and always insisting upon the doctrine that the men who fought for the preservation of the Union had, by the arbitrament of war, won the right to prescribe the terms upon which the people of the Southern States, who took up arms to overthrow the government, were to be restored to their former rights and relations to the Union and government. During this period, General Logan delivered some of the most able and exhaustive speeches upon these topics. They were listened to by hundreds of thousands of people in the various States where he spoke, and exerted a strong influence in maintaining a sound public opinion upon the questions discussed. Later on we find him in the Senate of the United States, where he has taken occasion to express himself upon almost every important topic of debate. Upon the question of revenue, taxation, and currency, the public debt, the granting of pensions to the soldiers and sailors, and their wives, widows and orphans; upon all these he has frankly and fully expressed his opinions. For a time, with Senator Morton and other leaders, he entertained the view, that the depressed condition of the country, resulting from the panic of 1873, would be relieved by the extension of the paper currency. He, however, at all times, earnestly opposed the proposition of Mr. Pendleton and others to pay off the national debt in the new issue of greenbacks. In 1874, he met his Republican fellow-citizens in State Convention at Springfield, and there, after due consideration, resolutions were passed in favor of the resumption of specie payment, and of making the national banking system free. General Logan fully indorsed these doctrines in an able speech before the convention, and at the next session of Congress voted for the resumption act, and the act (first suggested by the Illinois State Convention) for removing the limit to the issue of national bank notes—in

the nomenclature of the period, making the national banking system free.

More recently General Logan took the lead in the Senate in opposition to the measure for the relief of Major General Fitz John Porter. In the debates upon this question, he has shown his capacity for handling a subject involving details of fact and law, of massing every important point, and being fully armed at every point, so that in a long and sometimes acrimonious debate he was able to meet every argument that was brought forward by his opponents. If any one had ever doubted General Logan's ability to hold his own on the floor of the Senate with its oldest and most prominent members in debate, that doubt was removed by the debate on the Fitz John Porter Case. From the time General Logan prominently entered public life to the present time, he has discussed on the stump and in Congress every leading question that has come before the American people, and upon most of them he has been called upon to act in his capacity as legislator. He has probably addressed more people than any other man in the United States, and it may be safely stated that he has constantly exerted his influence to enlarge and more fully secure the rights of the people, to maintain the public credit, to reduce taxation and pay off the national debt, to preserve a sound and safe currency, and pursue a generous course toward the soldiers of the war, and their wives, widows and orphans, in the interest of an honest administration of the public service, and of its improvement, and he has labored zealously at all times for the success and harmony of the Republican party. He has lived in an unostentatious way, always within his means, and has been accessible to the most humble citizen of the Republic. As a man, he has shown himself capable of filling every position to which he has been called, in a most able and satisfactory manner. Efforts have been made from time to time to disparage his abilities, and to

decry him as a person unfit to fill important public stations for want of cultivation and proper literary attainments, when in fact it is clear to the comprehension of all who come in contact with him, that he has great intellectual endowments, and that he has explored almost every field of thought, and that he now possesses a storehouse of accurate knowledge upon every question connected with the affairs of this country, as well as being up in literature, the arts, and the sciences.

In making a study of the services of a public man, it seems desirable to make an analysis of his characteristics and a biography of General Logan, intended to convey a proper knowledge of the man, would be wanting in one of its most important parts if this was not done.

General Logan is a man of most excellent judgment ; he is thoroughly self-reliant. In addition to his well-known personal courage, he has the moral courage to stand by his convictions. He always seeks to be right and is never troubled with an anxiety to appear consistent in all his actions in regard to a particular question, if upon a more careful examination of the subject, he finds that he has fallen into error. While he rarely ever makes a mistake, he is always anxious to correct one when made. He is a most industrious man ; with a correspondence, the volume of which would appall most men, he keeps the run of everything and is careful to know that every proper request receives attention. He gives close attention to all questions before Congress and is never unprepared to take part in the discussion of them. His familiarity with all matters connected with the government, and of the sources of information in relation to them, and the rapidity with which he examines and comprehends a question, enables him to master a question with ease and dispatch. General Logan is a man of excellent social qualities and is always an agreeable addition to any company. He is a great lover of his home and of his family, and when not occupied with busi-

ness can almost always be found in their company. Quick to resent a meditated affront or injury, he will never take offense when it is not intended. Never unduly elated by political or other success, he meets disappointment or misfortune with philosophy and fortitude. Possessing in great degree the power of influencing other men, he has highly developed the faculty of controlling himself. He has been devoted to his country, to the interests of the people of his State, to the Republican party, to his friends and to his family.

CHAPTER XXIX.

UNION SPEECH OF GENERAL LOGAN, AT CHICAGO,
AUGUST 10, 1863.

GENERAL LOGAN, after being introduced by General McArthur to the citizens of Chicago, said:

CITIZENS OF CHICAGO: Although a native of Illinois, and for the whole of my lifetime a resident within her limits, I have, at no time in the past, had the pleasure of addressing an audience within the city of Chicago. Recently, however, I have been invited by a number of your citizens to come into your midst and interchange views upon the absorbing questions that now agitate the public mind. In doing so, I do not propose to discuss party politics or questions with a view to the advancement of any party organizations, but desire only to speak to you with reference to the troubles that now environ the country and threaten the perpetuity of the government. In times past, in the happy days when peace and quiet smiled upon our now distracted country, we were wont to assemble together and discuss party politics, encourage party organizations, and stimulate the minds of the people upon issues then dividing them. In those days it was meet and proper to speak of party issues in such a manner as was best calculated to advance party interests; but in times like these now surrounding us, when our country is in the midst of a desolating civil war, whilst it is passing through the severest trial, the greatest ordeal, that ever afflicted a once happy and united people, it is but just to ourselves and our country, that when we assemble together as we have here to-night, we should have in view one end, object and aim, to stimulate every patriotic heart in the land, and should speak and act in such a manner as will be the least calculated to create excitement or disturbance, and best promote unity of action, and reconcile diversity of opinion, so that we may all be unanimous in the support of the constitution and the government, and the best interests of the country. [Applause].

My countrymen, we live under a government and a constitution, whose laws, created by, and reflecting the voice of the people, if obeyed and adhered to, would secure to us through all time, peace and prosperity alike in all parts of our vast dominions. If all portions

of the people had maintained a proper reverence for the Constitution of the country and the laws of the land, we would to-day be the happiest people, blest by one of the most benign governments on the face of the earth. Remarkable, however, as it will appear upon the pages of history, peace, unity and harmony are no longer known in our land, and to-day in different parts of our country, we see the Constitution disregarded, the rights of her citizens trampled under foot and repudiated, the powers of the government disowned and defied by a portion of its people, thus bringing trouble from one end of our land to the other, and plunging the country into a relentless war, by which many of our best and bravest have been made to sleep the sleep that knows no waking.

Under circumstances of this character, and surrounded by the perils that have heretofore been strangers to us, it behooves every citizen to pause and reflect; to divest himself of all manner of prejudice, and to ask himself without regard to former party associations, what duty he owes to himself, to his country and to future generations. It makes no difference that you may have been a Democrat, a Republican, or an Abolitionist, this government was established by your fathers for you; it is a sacred trust committed to you; the laws have been enacted by the people for themselves and their protection, and no one can escape the duty he owes to the government to reverence its Constitution and yield obedience to its laws. Every citizen of the land owes his first allegiance to the government, and our freedom, our future interests, the welfare of the whole people, the sanctity of our household ties and domestic associations, are all bound up in the preservation of its perpetuity. And whilst it is our duty to yield our obedience to the government and the laws, it is equally the duty of the government of the United States to see that the laws are faithfully executed alike in all the States of this Union; and peace and good order preserved all over our common country. We should bow in respectful obedience to the expressed will of the people and yield willing subjection to the laws and the Constitution, and a cheerful and prompt support to the constituted authorities of the country, who are the agents of the entire Republic in the execution of its laws and the enforcement of its mandates, [applause] and thus secure for ourselves peace and good order through all portions of society.

I need not tell you that I was not a supporter of Mr. Lincoln for the presidency; yet he was constitutionally elected by a majority of the whole people; he was elected by all the forms required by the laws of the land. Having been so elected, I have always been taught that it is the duty of each and every citizen of the United States to

bow in respectful submission to the voice of the Nation. [Applause]. It was your duty, and my duty, and the duty of every citizen throughout this great Republic, whether situated in Massachusetts, South Carolina or Illinois, to recognize in him, not the private citizen Abraham Lincoln, nor the political partizan struggling for success before the people, but the chief magistrate of the Nation, into whose hands for the time being, was deposited the Constitution of the country, and who as the chief executive, was bound in the most solemn manner to "preserve, protect, and defend it" against every assailant whatsoever, foreign or domestic. [Loud applause.]

Does any man controvert this proposition? Does any man deny that when the voice of the Nation has been heard, and the verdict of the great American people has been pronounced, when all the constitutional prerequisites have been complied with, and the fact of the election of the President has been announced by the very men—even officially declared by the very men then and now bitterest in opposition to him, when no question has been or can be made, does any man, will any man dare deny, that whatever duty devolves on the citizen under the laws and the Constitution, is then due from every citizen to the chief magistrate thus elected? [Cries, "The Chicago *Times* does."]

It so happens that in all the past history of this government, it has never become the duty of one candidate for the presidency to declare under his official oath the election of his opponent. And yet in this extraordinary crisis, surrounded by a Senate, many of whom were then steeped in treason, the Vice-President himself an aspirant for the high office, whilst then engaged with his co-conspirators in their foul plotting to destroy this government, overturn its Constitution, defy its power, and trample its laws under foot; John C. Breckenridge, a name forever infamous in American history, and rendered doubly infamous by the high honors a generous and confiding people had bestowed upon him; a man now in arms against the very Government that once honored him—for his foul deeds an outcast from home, hated and despised by every man of every creed in the land, he himself announced in the Senate of the United States, as the mouth-piece of the Constitution, that Abraham Lincoln *had been duly elected* President of these United States. [Applause.]

And yet, strange as it may seem, when all this has occurred, it has been objected to by a portion of the people of the United States who have ever claimed to be par-excellence, constitution-loving and law abiding people; who claim that they look to Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson as their guides, who claim that they are the only

true expounders of the laws and the Constitution, who claim that they are the only people who have abided by, and executed the laws of the country, who claim that the people of other states have always violated laws and trampled the Constitution under foot, these people now assert that they owe no duties to the chief magistrate thus elected, that they are under no obligations to obey the laws that they themselves have assisted in enacting, that they owe no allegiance to the Government under which they were born, and no respect to the flag that has been their shield and protection. These are the people, who, after getting up all these claims, dissatisfied with the blessings with which a free government could bestow upon them, who, enjoying all the wealth, magnificence and luxury that a country formed with unparalleled fertility and productiveness could secure to them, assumed to themselves the right to establish a government, not based upon the Constitution, but in defiance of it. No excuse could be given for this conduct but that a President of the United States had been elected having views not in accordance with their own.

Numerous Presidents had been elected before Mr. Lincoln, and in no instance did they represent the whole people, and yet there was no cause then claimed for rebellion against the government. Will it be said that a difference of opinion upon questions of political interest to the country will justify or excuse any portion of the people in putting at defiance the Federal authority? I suppose not. Will it be said that before this dissatisfied portion of the people began to organize their new government, or before the Southern States began their attempted secession from the Union, any act was done, any deed committed, by the Federal Government infringing the rights of those conspirators? Was it because they had been denied any of their rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution? Had South Carolina, at the time of her secession, been denied the right to export her produce? Had her commerce been interfered with? Had the right to regulate her domestic institutions been attempted to be controlled? Had she been reduced below the standard of a sovereign State? Had her citizens been deprived of any part of their entire and perfect equality as citizens of the United States? Had she been burdened with onerous taxation? Had her slaves been captured and freed? No! Nothing of all this had occurred; the government, as a government, had done them no wrong, but had extended the same protection to them as to every other part of the United States. And even here, in Chicago, where Abolitionism was said to have been rampant, the United States Marshal, under the direction and counsel of one of your distinguished citizens, who presides in the district court of the United

States, in the execution of his office and the laws of the land, after the election of Mr. Lincoln, surrendered fugitives from labor to their masters, and manifested to the world the determination of the Federal Government to maintain its supremacy and execute its laws alike all over the Union. It makes no difference that individuals in one part of the country may have attempted to infringe the rights of another; the strong arm of the government has ever been ready to interpose in behalf of the injured party, and that factions existed was no fault of the government. Notwithstanding all these things, those conspirators inflamed the passions of the people, caused one State after another to secede from the Union, organized an army to destroy the government, oppose the execution of the laws, and defy the power and majesty of the American nation, and thus inaugurated one of the foulest, most wicked and *damnable* rebellions that ever existed on earth. [Immense applause.] When all this was done, there was then a duty to be performed by the President and by the people of the United States. The Constitution of the country makes it the imperative duty of the President of the United States to see that the laws are faithfully executed. In this the President has no discretion: he could not, if he would, avoid the responsibility. Perhaps some of you present here to-night, remember that at one period of our history, Andrew Jackson was President of the United States. Then it was that John C. Calhoun attempted to raise the foul banner of secession. Do you remember what Jackson said then? I will tell you. I quote from his proclamation issued December 10, 1832:

“And for what, mistaken men, for what do you throw away these inestimable blessings? For what would you exchange your share in the advantages and honor of the Union for the dream of separate independence—a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbor, and a vile dependence on a foreign power? If your leaders could succeed in establishing a separation, what would be your separation? The dictates of a high duty oblige me to solemnly announce that you cannot succeed; the laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you; they could not have been deceived themselves; they know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws. The government cannot accede to the mad proposition of disunion of which you would be the first victims; its first magistrate cannot, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty.”

This is what Jackson, the old hero of the Hermitage declared in

1832. [Applause.] Then he was the champion of the Democratic party. Then it was democratic to denounce disunion, and no Democrat dared avow sympathy with those conspirators. Does it make any difference, my countrymen, that because Mr. Lincoln was not elected by the party that sustained and supported General Jackson, that therefore the principles he then maintained have become wrong? Was the principle that was then regarded as good Democratic doctrine only applicable to that time and that administration? Were secession, nullification, and disunion to be condemned then by Jackson and his Democratic administration, while now some of the same party, pretending to stand upon the same ground, and advocate the same doctrines, maintain the same principles that endeared the old hero to his party and to his country, and now become the apologists if not the advocates of those infernal hell-begotten conspirators, now threatening the integrity and perpetuity of the government?

Is it right to insist upon the application of that principle to the government when Jackson was president, and refuse to apply it to the same government when Mr. Lincoln is president? I tell you, my countrymen, that is not the kind of democracy that Jackson and Douglas taught, and it is not my kind. [Great applause.]

I tell you, my friends, that when the President called for volunteers to aid in suppressing the insurrection, it was his duty to do so, as much as it is the duty of a sheriff of your county to call for men to aid him in suppressing a riot and putting down a mob in your midst; and it was not only his duty to call for men, but it was the bounden duty of every good citizen to obey the call and respond at once—cheerfully, willingly, with zeal and energy. It makes no difference that you had disagreed with the President on political questions. The very existence of the government was imperiled; the integrity of the Union was at stake; the laws—your laws—were put in defiance, and therefore your own honor, safety, peace and welfare, the honor, safety, peace and welfare of the government, and your children's after you, all demanded that you should lay aside all mere political opinion and rally around the chief magistrate of the people, and aid him to save the country. One State after another seceded from the Union. It made no difference whether they were original States or whether they were States purchased and paid for by the people's money. They all insisted upon the right, without consulting the Federal Government, to walk out of the Federal Union whenever it suited their convenience, without the consent of the people. The great State of Florida [laughter], immense, so far as acres are concerned, with her immense population, almost as numer-

ous as the city of Chicago, a state that has cost the Federal Government millions of money, a long and bloody war—she must retire with all the honors of an independent power, and bid farewell to her mother country. It mattered not that citizens of Illinois had aided in paying for the very soil that they live upon; it mattered not that we had expended our blood in giving peace to her borders; it mattered not that we had acquired the right to stand upon her soil and claim to be within the limits of our native land, under the protection of the flag of our fathers. All these things were ignored, and this great State assumed all the functions of a sovereign kingdom. So with Texas; so with Louisiana. We purchased and paid for them with the people's money—the bones of our soldiers, now bleached upon the sandy plains of Mexico, their lives a sacrifice in maintaining the honor of the American name, and in vindicating the integrity and unity of the American territory. Yet these States, without our consent, declare themselves out of the Union, and free, independent sovereign kingdoms. The truth is, my fellow-citizens, our country, great and extensive as it was and is, is not large enough to hold three or four Presidents, with their congresses, cabinets and great aristocrats; and so they could not wait.

But while we find this to be the case, while we find these men declaring their independence, in violation of the Constitution, and have made another Constitution of their own, and desire a separate President, cabinet and Congress, a separate government and laws, all in violation of our Federal Constitution—in violation of the compact entered into in the formation of the government—in violation of everything and every principle descended to us from our patriot sires; we are told that it is illegal and unconstitutional to prevent them from accomplishing their designs. We are told by some that the President has no power to prevent it or to carry on a war against the Southern States. I do not propose to argue this question; there may be a difference between a war and an insurrection. Every war may not be an insurrection, but I am sure that no rebellion can become so great as to become a war and cease to be an insurrection. A million of insurgent citizens in arms defying the Federal Government and laws is but an insurrection, and the Constitution of the United States confers ample power upon the government to suppress insurrection." If you will examine the Constitution of the country, my friends, you will find that Congress has ample power to call out all the militia to suppress insurrection. It is so clear that no demagogue can deceive the people about it, and Congress has discharged its duty in doing so. From time to time laws have been

passed for this purpose, and when the forces of the country have been called out, who, I ask, is to command them? Is it not the President of the United States? Is he not the Commander-in-chief of all our armies? Now, what does the Constitution mean when it says he shall be the Commander-in-chief? Does it not mean that his orders to that army are to be supreme so far as the object for which those men are called out is concerned? It seems to me so. If, then, these soldiers are called out to put down an insurrection, and the President is the chief and highest officer known to the Constitution, and if the same Constitution says that he shall with all this force and all this power, "See that the laws are faithfully executed," that no man with his puny arm can set them at defiance; and the Constitution nowhere says how this is to be done; will not any sane man conclude that the manner of doing it is left to the Commander-in-chief? Are not his orders in effecting the grand end and aim of the Constitution, justly based on that instrument, and flowing from it? If necessary, may he not, to suppress this insurrection, order his soldiers to fire upon and slay the insurrectionists? May he not, in some way, order property to be destroyed, or a dangerous, seditious, insurrectionary person to be confined? There can be no doubt but that by his order life may be taken by his soldiers, if it become necessary to do so in order to suppress the insurrection; and if life may be taken, surely property may be destroyed, or a citizen arrested and confined, if it become necessary to do so in order to suppress the insurrection—if it will accomplish the mandate of the Constitution and aid in the execution of the laws. [Voice, "He'd ought to hang them to save expense."]

These are my views upon this question, and why, may I ask, should we permit these wrongs to exist in violation of law? Are they not outrages on civilization and the age in which we live? Have not those rebels and traitors, those vile conspirators, in carrying out their insurrectionary purposes plunged the country into a bloody and relentless war? Have they not destroyed and laid waste cities and towns and hamlets? Have they not arrayed friend against friend, kindred against kindred, and brother against brother? Have they not invaded every family circle, and caused mourning and sorrow to every hearthstone, until one wail of anguish has gone up from our entire country? And can all these deeds be perpetrated, and yet no power found anywhere in the government or in its constitutionally elected officers to suppress and end it? [Cries of No, we'll end it.] I tell you, my friends, I believe as firmly as I believe in the existence of a God, that if there had been no constitutional privilege

or provision conferring this power upon the government, still it would have possessed it. I believe that governments, when once organized and brought into existence, possess, like individuals, the inherent and indefeasible right of self-defense, and that whenever the Constitution is attacked, its destruction threatened, the interests, peace and prosperity of the Nation imperiled by the act of a wrongful, unauthorized insurrection, the government, to preserve itself, may destroy life, or property, or whatever else threatens its existence. [Immense applause.] For these reasons, when the President of the United States called first for seventy-five thousand men to aid in suppressing the rebellion, and again for three hundred thousand more for the same purpose, and when he again called for other large forces for a like purpose, I did not believe that he was violating the Constitution of the country in attempting to preserve it against traitors. [Applause.] I did not believe that those men who relinquished their homes, their families, their business interests, their society and friends, to endure the hardships, fatigue, exposure and perils of a soldier's life, in attempting to vindicate the honor of the flag of their country, to maintain it in all its beauty and glory, were violating the Constitution of their country.

But there are in this country certain classes of men who know nothing but how to grumble, growl and find fault, but who openly avow that those insurrectionists in arms against the Federal authority cannot be subdued or conquered; that their territory is too extensive, and their numbers too great; the only way to restore the government is to beg and implore them to return once more to the house they used to live in. This did not used to be the doctrine of the Democratic party, nor of the old Whig party, nor of the Republican party. In all the past history of this country, the American people, confident in their own strength and resources, carried themselves with haughtiness and pride when arrayed against the most powerful nations of the earth. [Applause.] Now it has become common and fashionable for men, some of whom pretend to belong to the Democratic party, to ask of the Federal Government to crawl down upon their bellies, and humbly sue for terms of peace at the hands of rebels and traitors. Even down here at Springfield the other day, I heard of a meeting that claimed to be a Democratic meeting, a meeting of the old party that I have always belonged to. I find a resolution published in their proceedings that I desire to say a word about. I desire to speak of this resolution, because I assert most positively, that if the men convened in that meeting indorse what purports to be their action and stand upon the resolution passed, they are no Democrats. [Great

applause.] The resolution to which I refer, and which no doubt many of you have read, is called, I believe, the 23d resolution, and is as follows:

“That we believe that the further prosecution of this war [immense applause] tends to subvert the Constitution and entail upon this nation all the disastrous consequences of misrule and anarchy. That we are in favor of peace upon the basis of the restoration of the Union [immense applause], and for the accomplishment of which we propose a National Convention to settle upon terms of peace, which shall have in view the restoration of the Union as it was, and the securing by constitutional amendments of such rights to the several States and people thereof as honor and justice demand.” [Loud, prolonged and enthusiastic applause.]

This resolution, I believe, was passed on the 17th of June, as they declared then, that from that day, the further prosecution of the war was unconstitutional and tended to anarchy. At that time Meade's army had fallen back into Pennsylvania and the rebel army under General Lee was invading the North, Rosecrans was occupying his position in his intrenchments at Murfreesboro, Prentiss at Helena, Grant's army was besieging Vicksburg, and that of General Banks, Port Hudson. Now if this resolution be true, then all these armies ought to have retired from their positions, come back north of the Ohio river, and allow the rebels to repossess all the territory that we have acquired by hard fighting, in eighteen months. But they did not do it. On the contrary, Meade, with his gallant army, drove the rebel army from Pennsylvania, compelling them to fall back out of Pennsylvania into Maryland and beyond the Rappahannock, scattering his rebel hordes as chaff before the wind. [Loud applause.] This, I suppose, was unconstitutional. At the same time Rosecrans pushed his victorious columns beyond the rebel lines at Tullahoma, far down toward Chattanooga, compelling Bragg and his rebellious legions to seek safety in flight. On the same day, Prentiss at Helena, put to route Price and his attacking columns, who fled in dismay before the victorious troops of the Army of the Tennessee. [Loud applause.] This too, was unconstitutional, and ought not to have been done. On the same day, and at the same hour, when all these successes were crowning our arms, a beneficent Providence, as if to signify his approbation of our cause, and render the glorious birthday of our country in the eyes of mankind, more sacred, witnessed the triumphal entry of our invincible legions into the rebel stronghold of Vicksburg. [Prolonged and loud applause, and cheers for Logan.] And yet I suppose that too was unconstitutional. But a few days later and Port

Hudson, the last rebel stronghold in the Mississippi valley, acknowledged the power of our arms, and surrendered with its garrison, to the victorious hosts of Banks [applause], thus again opening the Mississippi from its source to its mouth, and enabling the citizens of Illinois and the Northwest to send their teeming harvest through the old accustomed channel to the markets of the world; and this, too, is unconstitutional.

I do not believe, General McArthur (addressing that officer), that when you and I, with our gallant divisions, marched down the streets of Vicksburg, to the music of Yankee Doodle, with the old stars and stripes floating over us, that we were violating the Constitution of our country. [Loud applause.] I do not believe that in gaining victory after victory, in gaining stronghold after stronghold, and dispersing an army equal in numbers to our own, arrayed against our government, and defying its laws, we were trampling the Constitution of our country under foot.

But according to these resolutions, we should have stopped on the 17th of June. All our acts since that time have been outrages upon our country, and you and I and all our comrades ought to be tried for treason.

This is the condition in which these men have placed us. But I wish to notice this resolution a little further. They say that they are in favor of a national convention. Would they have a convention in which North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Florida and all those States now in rebellion would be represented? If so, I want the gentlemen who introduced the resolution, and the men who favored it, to tell how long it would take to get South Carolina to send delegates to any convention? How would you notify them of it? How would you induce them to send representatives? Would a member of Congress elected in any of these States attend any such convention? No such thing, and they know it well. That phrase was introduced only for the purpose of misleading and misguiding the people; and lastly, my fellow-citizens, I desire to call your attention to the last clause of this remarkable resolution, to show you what a strange piece of composition it is. I am told that in this part of the country you find a great many men who say they prefer the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is. Yet these gentlemen ask for a convention which shall decide upon the terms of peace, and settle upon the Constitution with such amendments as justice demands. At one moment they want the Constitution as it is, and the next they want it with amendments, all the time, however, proclaiming that they are for the Constitution as it is. In my opinion, the men who are prosecuting this

war are for the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was. I care not to what party they have belonged; I have never yet found a man who was supporting this war who was not a lover of the Constitution and the Union. For myself, I am for it as it was. So I hope you all are. I am for having South Carolina and every other State brought back into the Union; but if these gentlemen are for the Union as it was, with Jeff. Davis, Toombs and Slidell in the Senate, with all those traitors restored to the high places of public trust and honor, then I am not for it as it was. [Applause.]

I would like for those men who passed this resolution and talk of the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was, to inform us what they mean. For my part, I have no opinions I desire to conceal. Democrats, Republicans, all ought to be for restoring this government with every inch of soil, *as it was*, before traitors despoiled it. [Applause.] - To accomplish this, if necessary, I am in favor of using the last dollar, of filling the last ditch with human gore, and making bridges of human carcasses, if the government can in no other way be restored; and any man who is not for all that is not as good a Union man as I am, or as he ought to be, in my judgment. [Three cheers for General Logan were again called for, and enthusiastically given.] Now there is one easy way in which this Union can be restored as it was. It is for every man in the loyal States to be loyal, and then act according to his professions. Let each man love the government, aid it, fight for it, exert all his influence in its behalf, and assist the government and those charged with its administration in furnishing men and means, and fighting the battles of the country. In this way we can restore the country. Again, we can aid in restoring the Union as it was by giving aid and encouragement to the officers of the law in our own State. If any measure is adopted for the purpose of raising troops, let no man raise his voice or hand against it. Let every officer be firm and faithful to his trust, and every citizen firm in lending assistance. By this means you will raise an army, and with that army you can put this rebellion down at once. [Loud applause.]

CONFISCATION.

There is another matter that a great deal of noise is made about, and of which I desire to speak briefly. It is with reference to what is known as the confiscation question, or, in other words, what rights under the laws rebels in arms have to property.

I ask any man whether or not these rebels did not forfeit their right of property, by their acts of treason against the government?

Yet men object to the confiscation of rebel property. Why? Have they been injured by it? Have they lost any of their property? Certainly not, nor will they unless they are guilty of the same acts that have caused the confiscation of rebel property. However, these gentlemen want the act of treason decided against their Southern friends, by a jury, as they say, according to the Constitution. They are mad because we do not try Jeff. Davis and his co-conspirators, by a jury down in Richmond. Will these men tell me that when you find a body of men armed, bearing a flag different from ours, claiming they are acting under a separate government, fighting the armies of the United States, using all the means in their power to destroy the government, that this is not proof sufficient? Do they want any more? What kind of a jury do they want to try four or five hundred thousand men in arms, with treason inscribed upon their banners, defying the power of the government and trampling its laws and Constitution under foot. [Applause.] The right way to try such men is to try them at the point of the bayonet [great applause] and not by juries or courts. If they do not want their property confiscated, let them lay down their arms and return to their allegiance. If they expected to enjoy their former rights under the laws they should not have rebelled. If men in this country are so sensitive about the property of rebels, just let them go down to rebeldom and advise the rebels to lay down their arms. [Cheers.] Do you believe that if these rebels had not broken the laws, violated the Constitution and defied the government, their property would have been confiscated or interfered with? If not, then, who is at fault? It is the result of their own conduct, and we are not responsible for it, but they are. [Applause.] Then, there is another matter that is a source of great annoyance to many. It is the President's proclamation. When it was issued, I said and say so yet, that, without either defending, justifying or setting up opposition to it, I, as a soldier, was in duty bound to obey it, and I did obey it. [Three cheers for General Logan.] This is an act, however, charged to be unconstitutional and oppressive. When the proclamation was issued, one hundred days were given the rebels to lay down their arms. If they did not at the end of that time do so, the slaves were to be free. If they had acted in good faith to the government, that had never done them any wrong, and at the time prescribed returned to their allegiance, their slaves would not have been made free by the proclamation; but they did not. I ask you, then, was it our fault or theirs? [Cheers, cries of "Good."] It was not our fault. They freed their negroes, and not we. They chose between remaining in the Union with their slaves or in rebellion

without them. And now I tell these men who are so mad in this country, that they should have gone to "Dixie" and said to their brothers, "Just lay down your arms, and keep your negroes; quit fighting and all will be well." [Cheers and laughter.] But I cannot see why men should be excited over this matter so much. The proclamation did not affect negroes or their masters in the part of the country where our army was, for the reason that the negroes had all freed themselves before it was issued. They had mostly run away before it was issued, and were still running up to the time I had left. [Applause and laughter.]

If men in this country who are interested in getting the negroes restored to traitors will take the proper course we will soon have the matter settled. How will it be done? Let the rebels lay down their arms, come back and claim protection under our Constitution, file their petition in the United States Court, presenting a case for the court to decide the constitutionality of the proclamation. And then let Mr. Rebel come up and prove that he was a loyal man. [Immense applause.]

If the court declares the action of the President illegal, we will all, I hope, abide by it. If it is declared constitutional, then it will have its full force and effect, and I suppose none will refuse to abide by its decision. The court is the proper tribunal to settle the question, and none should object to its being so settled. Let us then be quiet and see the rebellion crushed, then have the matter properly settled. If we put down the rebellion, this mode of settling it will be satisfactory; if we do not put down the rebellion (as some men say we cannot), then I am sure there ought to be no trouble about the matter, as the rebels will not be affected by proclamations or anything we may do. [Applause.]

CONSCRIPTION.

You have been many times instructed by other styles of arguments and dissertations upon other constitutional points, all having the same objects in view, and that is, to render the army inefficient and powerless to suppress the rebellion. The conscription laws have not been made an exception. This, too, they say is not constitutional, and they are not going to wait for the question to be constitutionally settled by the courts of the country, but they are going to resist it anyhow. Every man who don't like the war, and is not fond of fighting, just arrays himself with this new-fangled doctrine, and he at once becomes a Solon or a Story, or some other great constitutional expounder, and finds at once he is entirely justified in resisting a law of Congress. There is of course no use for a court. They never want a court unless a

rebel is to be the injured party, then they want a jury from the vicinage, and every man to be tried by his *peers*—that is, every rebel must be tried by rebels. I think myself they would be in a bad condition to be tried by honest men.

But why do these men object to the conscript law? Is it because it does not suit them in all respects? If so, does that justify them in resisting? Is that the good old Democratic teaching always adhered to heretofore by all our leaders? I think not. As for myself, I freely admit that if I had drafted the law I would have had its provisions different, perhaps; but since it was not my business, I am willing to leave it to the proper agents or authorities to do it, and then abide by it until the courts decide it null and void. Is not this right? But how is this act wrong? I cannot see but that its main principles are right, and that it ought to be enforced; and if there are any objections to it, it is only in its details. But you hear it said by every peace man that it is unconstitutional. Why, my friends, is it not a law of the land, passed by the law-making power, and under what authority have they enacted it? Does not the Constitution, in so many words, confer the power on Congress to “provide for calling forth the militia to execute the law,” etc.? Now, what does this mean? Is not this conscription act one means or one manner of calling forth the militia? Is it not the method of selecting who of the militia shall become soldiers and shall aid in executing the laws? And if Congress cannot do this, who in the world can? How is it to be done? Do these men expect to live under a government which has not the power to maintain itself—no power to call forth its strength—no power to adopt a plan to ascertain who are to be its soldiers? Any government that could not do this would be a sham and no government at all. Mobs and riots could exist in all parts of the land, rebellion and insurrections could arise every day, and citizens would have no alternative but to submit to anarchy, confusion, and mob law. If gentlemen expect to live under such a government, let them be undeceived. We have lived under a government of law and order too long to submit to such a thing. There never was a government in the world that did not possess powers of this kind, and ours would have been no exception to the rule, even without the clause in the Constitution which I have quoted. But they, with this clause plainly in that instrument, say *the conscript act is not mentioned in it at all*. Well, what if it isn't? Do they find anything in it authorizing Jeff Davis to be president of the southern confederacy? [Laughter.] Do they find anything in it requiring the government to sit still and tumble to pieces—to crumble into chaos—with no power to do anything to avoid it? They find

nothing of this kind there; but I will tell you what they do find. They find the power there given to suppress insurrection. How? I will tell you how: In any manner that God Almighty has placed it in our power to do it. By killing rebels, destroying their property—arresting and confining traitors, by conscript laws, confiscation laws—[great applause]—that is the way it is to be done. I assert that there is power in the Constitution to suppress insurrection; and if there was not a word said about it there—if there was not a word in it authorizing Congress to call out the militia, the government, itself, from the very fact of its existence, carries with it the strength and power to organize armies and navies to execute its laws and protect itself. Believing this, and knowing it in my heart to be so, I believe it is not only the duty of the President and of Congress, but of each and every citizen in this land, to stand by the government, no matter what his locality—no matter what his politics. The government is his—his to enjoy, his to administer, his to defend, his to transmit to his children—and no man, unless he is a craven, a coward, or traitor, can, when all is at peril, threatened with destruction, stand aloof and refuse to assist, by every means in his power, to restore the government to its original condition; and the man who fails to do this, who finds “ifs” and “buts,” and holds back, is, in my opinion, wrong some way. [Applause.] I believe, then, that each and every man ought, is in duty bound and must, if required by the authorities, put his shoulder to the wheel and see the government again roll on in peace and greatness as in days past. If they do this, we will sustain the government, suppress the rebellion, restore peace, and vanquish all assailants, whether domestic or foreign.

DISLOYAL MEN.

There are many other objections made by those growlers and fault-finders that I might notice if time permitted, but it is wholly unnecessary to do so, for no argument that I or any living man could make, would satisfy some men that our government is right and Jeff Davis is wrong; and yet these men insist that they are loyal, true and good Union men. Go where you will all over the country, and you will never find a solitary man who does not claim to be for the Union. Now I have been taught all my life to judge a tree by its fruits. It is written that no good tree will bring forth bad fruits, nor will a bad tree bring forth good fruits. Now, if we judge some men by their fruits, I rather think we will be inclined to believe (however much they may deny it) that they are not good Union men, and care less for the Union and Government than for their own safety and ease. Did you ever hear of a good Union man discouraging enlistments?

Did you ever hear of one denouncing the government? Do they call the soldiers Lincoln hirelings, and Lincoln abolitionists? Do they swear they will not fight unless to resist the draft? Do they declare the conscription unconstitutional? Do they say they are for putting a stop to this nigger war, and persuade the soldiers to desert and lay around in hollows in the country to be fed by their friends? Is this the fruits that men who love the Union exhibit? No, my countrymen. Let them claim as much love for the Union as they may, the man who does this thing is false to his country, and utters a falsehood when he says he is for the Union and as good a Union man as anybody. He is at heart for Jeff Davis and ought to be down there with him. [Applause.]

VALLANDIGHAM.

I hear that there is a certain gentleman over here in Ohio, a candidate for governor, who, if all or half what is told of him be true, is of this kind of Union men. His name is Vallandigham; he claims to be a good Union man. And yet, all his speeches, all his acts, all his conduct since this war begun, has been of ceaseless opposition to the United States Government, and tending to uphold and encourage those in rebellion against it. Have you ever heard of his persuading anyone to enlist under the old flag and stand by the Constitution? Have you ever heard that he sympathized with and encouraged the soldiers in the field? Have you ever heard that in the darkest hours of our country, he uttered a word that would nerve the patriotic heart to deeds of glory and renown?—never, never; on the contrary, we hear him uttering, as he said in his letter of recent date, sentiments of this kind to the people of Ohio:

“I need not repeat my oft-declared conviction, which time has already vindicated, that the South cannot be conquered by force of arms.”

Is this the sentiment of a patriot and of a Union man? a man who in his heart of hearts wishes for the perpetuity of this Union? Or is it not the argument used by Davis, Beauregard and Slidell, and their hosts of Southern traitors? And yet you hear from the men who are supporting him the constant declaration that they are good Union men. Now, one thing has occurred to me in his course as passing strange. Did you ever hear of Mr. Vallandigham or his adherents finding fault with Jeff Davis, Lee, Pemberton, Bragg or any other men who are in rebellion? How many speeches have been made by him denouncing this rebellion and its leaders? Can any one tell me? On the contrary do not those who indorse him openly proclaim their preference? I was told the other day that a body of

armed men down here in Illinois passed through a village and gave cheers for Vallandigham, John Morgan and Jeff Davis. Now, my countrymen, is this the proper result of inculcating the right kind of Union sentiment, or is it not bad fruits brought forth by a bad man? Now there are but two sides to this question—a man cannot be for the Union and for Jeff Davis at the same time; he must be either attempting to support and maintain the government in suppressing the rebellion, or else his acts tend to aid, encourage and support those who are against us. No man can be neutral; he must be one or the other; he must believe the government is right in using its force against the rebels, or that it is wrong; and when we find men using all their talents, ingenuity, ability and influence against our own government and cause, he may pronounce as often as he pleases and declare himself every day a thousand times a good Union man, but it is false, and everybody can see it that will. [Cheers.]

I care not what he calls himself—what he calls his part—a man is either for our Constitution or for Jeff Davis' constitution [applause]; for the laws or for mobs, for violence and rebellion. There is no middle ground. If the war is right, it should go on vigorously; if it is wrong, it should stop; if it is right, all should support it, and if it is wrong, we should oppose it as Vallandigham and his followers. Douglas uttered a great truth when he said all men must be either patriots or traitors.

PEACE MEN.

But we find men in this country who cry "Peace, peace, when there is no peace," and they know it. What do they mean? How do they want peace, and how are they to get it? Do they expect to get it by stopping the war and withdrawing our army? Is that the way they want it? If so, my countrymen, do you think they are good Union men? Does any one think we can get peace in this way, and yet save the Union as our fathers made it? Or do you not know that peace in any other way than through victory, through the triumph of our arms will be the death knell of our Union and the sure harbinger of the independence of the rebel States? Suppose we withdraw our armies, leave the territory we now possess, call a convention, agree to an armistice, and do all this after two years' fighting. How long would it be until the powers of Europe would recognize and aid the independence of the South, and thus sever our Union forever? My fellow-citizens, this is the cry of Jeff Davis and his minions. They say they want peace; they want us to stop the war. They think the North cannot conquer them; they want us to let them alone, and if we but accede to what they desire and what their advocates in the

North here insist on, they know their independence follows as a necessity, and the Union is destroyed.

ABUSE OF OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.

Why is it that the time has come now when officers and soldiers in the army are traduced and vilified from one end of the country to the other? When was there ever a time in this country when the country was at war, that a man engaged in the army was traduced or slandered by a certain portion of the community? Why is it? These soldiers will not see this government destroyed, but these men are throwing every obstacle in the way to effect the inefficiency of the army and navy. Every victory won by our armies is "a small affair." It is placed upon an improper basis; somebody has "been doing wrong;" "the victory is not sufficient;" "it is not what we desired." But every defeat we have is put in large letters and magnified. Everybody must be notified that the federal troops have been "licked," not only whipped, but badly whipped—thousands of persons taken prisoners—thousands of arms taken, thousands of men lost, and then the people are called upon to stop this "effusion of blood," this "great carnage." The people are called upon to oppose the government, to distrust the army, and to distrust every man in it, and endeavors are made to cause them to get alarmed at this to such an extent that they will seek peace upon any terms, and by that means establish a southern confederacy and divide these States.

You will recollect a short time ago, while our army were attempting to take Vicksburg, these croakers and these kickers were all the time attempting to throw doubt upon this thing, saying the stronghold could never be taken. All these things were said, and all these means were employed in order to discourage the people. Why is it that the people must be discouraged? If a man is a true man to his government, he never will in its darkest hour do anything to discourage that government. It is the dark hour of this country now. It is the period of its gravest trials. Stand by your country now. Now is the time to do it, so that sooner or later its victory will be won. Have confidence in your army, instead of gossiping on the street corners with the intention of demoralizing the efficiency of that arm of your country.

As for my part, I will advocate the interests of my country, leave no means untried to effect its restoration. After the war is over, we will settle our political quarrels, and if you will only do that also and aid in encouraging the cause of your country, we will have less politics, more war, and a Union 'all the sooner. [Thunders of applause.]

STOREY AND THE "TIMES."

In this connection, fellow-citizens, allow me to call your attention to a matter somewhat personal to myself. It is a well-known fact, that wherever I have been, I have only addressed the people at their own solicitation. I did not come home to make a political canvass, but only to try to obtain rest after the arduous duties of a long and severe campaign. This is the only visit I have made to my home and family for two years, with the exception of eight days soon after the battle at Donelson. I thought, while at home, as they desired it, I might at least tell my friends what was the condition of my country without being accused of anything wrong for doing so. I told them I was advocating no man or party, that in this war I knew no party, that although I had always been a Democrat, and cherish the doctrines of that old and honored party, yet in this contest I was for any man, let him belong to whatever party he might, who was for his country and who supported the government, and against every man who did not do so, let him be of what party he might. For these acts, I have been vilely abused and slandered.

I propose to read to you from a paper published here in your midst, and claiming to be a Democratic paper (but this claim is as false as h—l), called, I believe, the *Chicago Times*, edited once by a gentleman (Sheehan), but great has been its fall since then. In this paper, of date August 8, inst., I find the following article:

"As showing how entirely Major General John A. Logan has gone over to abolitionism, it may be mentioned that in his harangues he adopts the cant so common for twenty years past to all abolition orators. He talks about the 'meanness of the Southern people in compelling slaves to work for them without pay.'

"He is equal to Milroy in threats of vengeance upon Democrats in the North who have not turned Abolitionists. Speaking of the army, he said at Cairo:

"'They have had their eyes upon these unmitigated cowards, these opponents of the country and the administration—and the administration, I contend, is the country—and when they return it will do the soul of every loyal man good to see the summary manner in which they will cause these sneaks and peace agitators to hunt their holes.'

"At Carbondale he said:

"'If you let these people gain their designs for a Southern Confederacy, we will have a Northwestern Confederacy. There was a plan for this before the breaking out of the rebellion. It was talked

over by men who are steeped to the lips in treason, and if we fail to put down the rebellion our beautiful prairies of the Northwest will be drenched in blood.'

"Among those who before the war talked over the question of a Northwestern Confederacy was John A. Logan, then a Representative in Congress from Southern Illinois, now Major General John A. Logan. He said further at Carbondale:

"'If I was President I would have no mobs. The first man who raised his hand to resist the law I would hang to the first tree or lamp-post. I don't blame the President for being more lenient; I only say what I would do.'

"The reader will understand this frantic violence of a new convert when we tell him that this same John A. Logan, at the beginning of the war, openly encouraged recruiting in Southern Illinois for the rebel army; that two or three of his own relatives entered the rebel service on his advice; that he grossly insulted Stephen A. Douglas on the streets of Springfield for the stand that patriot had taken concerning the war, and that he openly instigated the people of Southern Illinois to resist the passage south of federal troops over their soil.

"The case is simply that of a weak and ambitious man going from one extreme to the other. He is ambitious of a major general's commission in the regular army.'

I made no speech at Cairo at that time; I have made none since I have been in the army. I was there with a few friends at a dinner party, and in a desultory manner we discussed matters connected with the capture of Vicksburg. All that I said then, I do not now recollect, but one thing I do know, what I said was all right. That part, however, attributed to me, in which I am said to have stated that the "administration was the government," I did not say nor have I uttered any such sentiment at any other time. I have never been so insane as to admit or affirm that any administration was the government. In this I was misrepresented, doubtless, without intention on the reporter's part, for I have no reason to think him anything else than a gentleman.

As to what I am reported to have said at Carbondale, I avow it now, repeat it here to you to-night. It is true, every word of it. But it is charged by the editor that I "have gone over to the Abolitionists;" that I adopt in my "harangues," as he chooses to call them, the cant so common to Abolition orators twenty years ago; and also that I was one who talked over a Northwestern Confederacy before the war, and while I was a member of Congress. Let me say to the man who published that paper that when he published it he published a

lie, knowingly, intentionally and willfully. [Great applause.] There is not a living man on earth that ever heard me say that I was in favor of a Northwestern Confederacy or any other confederacy, or that I was in favor of dividing the Union by any means; and I want this man Storey (he never spoke to me—if he did I did not know it—I never spoke to him—if I did I am sorry for it) to tell me who told him this. If he does not, he is himself responsible, and I brand him as a liar, a sneak, a poltroon, coward and traitor. [Great applause. Cheers for Logan.]

So far as this charge against me of recruiting for the rebel army, it is too infamous and damnable to notice. And as for my insulting Douglas in Springfield or anywhere else, it is as false as h—l; but is he not a pretty man to call me to account for insulting anyone for being a patriot? [Applause.] It is not true that I insulted Mr. Douglas. It is not true that we were ever anything but friends at the time he speaks of. I came with Mr. Douglas from Springfield to Joliet. I heard him with pleasure at every station on the road, in the advocacy of the cause of his country. After leaving him at Joliet, I came next to Chicago; met him at the Tremont House; staid with him, talked with him on the condition of the country. It was the last time I ever met that great patriot and statesman. We parted as friends. And yet this vile wretch, this animal, this crawling, slimy creature, asserts that I insulted him because he was a patriot.

Does this man Storey know his own history? [Laughter.] If he does, he knows it is too infamous to be written or published. He is a man most certainly poorly fitted for heaven, and the devil would scorn his presence if he should appear before him to-night. When God in his infinite power, created this universe and all living and creeping things therein, among other things he created frogs, snakes, lizzards and slimy, miserable, filthy things. He then looked upon them and they were not low and mean enough to manifest his power, and he must create some vile thing that will be viewed with disgust and loathing by all the balance of created things—Storey of the *Chicago Times*. [Great applause.]

POSITION BEFORE THE WAR.

Now, in order to show you what an infamous slander this man has perpetrated upon me, I will read to you a paragraph from a letter which I wrote on the 31st of December, 1860, to Judge J. N. Haynie, of Cairo. Judge Haynie is now present. I wrote from Washington, D. C.

“Entertaining honestly these views (as expressed to you through-out), I am for the Union and for maintaining it, if such a thing be

possible, and am uncompromisingly opposed to any man or set of men, that countenance disunion, with its horrible consequences. There is no sacrifice that I would not make for it. I have no opinion that I would not modify in any way, consistent with the honor of my constituents and myself, to give peace to the country." This was the kind of a letter I wrote in 1860. This will show, at least, whether I was recruiting for the rebel army. It will show to this gentleman whether he and I agreed then, or whether I was a Union man then, and he was conceiving treason in his own heart. [Cries of "He has no heart."] It is by such men as these that the people are misled; that the people are deceived. It is by people who have neither character themselves, nor can they give character to anybody else, and the only capacity they have is the capacity for defamation. By this man and such men as he, the country is kept in turmoil and a state of demoralization from one end to the other. This man is a fit subject to go with Vallandigham, to run with him and advocate his claims to the governorship of Ohio, a man who could never say a word against Jeff Davis or his conduct, but always uttering sentiments advising peace with rebellion and a compact to support the interest of secession. The man who could do these things is a fit associate of Vallandigham and Vallandigham of him. I tell the men now, that this man is trying to lead to-day, that he is a traitor to his country, and not a Democrat in any sense. [Cheers.]

Now, fellow citizens, I want you to examine this with other sheets of its kind, and show me a respectable notice about any officer of the army, or anything that pertains to the army. Here is General McArthur. He received a notice from this sheet this morning. He calls him an Abolitionist. He calls me one. I have no defense to make, except to say that I am in good company when with McArthur. I know I am not an Abolitionist, and I do not believe General McArthur is one; nor do I believe this man Storey knows what an Abolitionist is.

I expect we have abolished as many traitors to the country as this man can manufacture soon. [Cheers.] If this is what he means by it, we accept the term. [Renewed cheers and laughter.] Politically I do not believe that either one of us is, or ever was, or ever expect to be an Abolitionist; but I tell Mr. Storey (not Storey—Tory—Tory), to-night that if every man in this country is called an Abolitionist that is willing to fight for and sustain his government, let him be called so. And I tell Mr. Storey (Tory-Tory) that if belonging to the United States and being true and valiant soldiers meeting the steel of Southern revolutionists, marching to the music of this Union, loving the

flag of our country and standing by it in its severest trials—if that makes us Abolitionists let us all be Abolitionists. [Cheers.]

If it makes a man an Abolitionist to love his country, then I love my country; am willing to live for it and willing to die for it. If it makes a man an Abolitionist to revere that flag, then I say, be it so. If it makes an Abolitionist to hear “The Star-Spangled Banner” sung upon the battle-field by our soldiers, then I am proud to be an Abolitionist, and I wish to high heaven that we had a million more; then our rebellion would be at an end, and peace would again fold her gentle wings over a united people, and the old Union, the old friendship, again make happy the land where now the rebel flag flaunts dismally in the sultry Southern air.

THE ARMIES.

I now desire to say something in behalf of the different armies. We have had many victories and many reverses during this struggle, and it is quite a common saying throughout this country that the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac do not fight well; that they are “Yanks” and cannot fight.

Why, my friends, I believe one editor who has used this term was born in Vermont himself. I do not blame him for being mad at the Yanks; he ought to be displeased at his birth-place—that it had ever allowed such a curious thing as himself to come to light of day. [Laughter.] I have great respect for the Army of the Potomac, because they have fought as valiantly as ever any set of men fought on any field. That they have been defeated is true, but it was not their fault. If there has been mismanagement it has not been the fault of the soldiers, and they are not responsible for it. Troops have been massed against them in such a manner as to overwhelm them, and sometimes they have been outgeneraled; but it is not their fault. There are many of these brave boys sleeping beneath Southern soil, and so many battle-fields that have been strewed with their dead bodies, that it would be ungenerous and unmanly to speak doubtingly or seemingly of their valor. But there were many reasons why they could not be successful. I am not judge enough of the condition of the army, nor do I know enough of its management, to give any opinion in reference to its officers, if I desired. But I tell you to-night that if the people of Pennsylvania, New York and New York city—the wealthiest part of the country, with as much power, perhaps, as half a dozen of the largest States in the Union—had been united as a band of brothers, and had sustained and supported the men of the army, and sympathized with them, felt with them, en-

couraged them, greater results might have been obtained. [Cheers.] But because this thing has not been done, in many places these men have failed. It is the easiest thing possible to understand that an army will fail in its object if it fails to receive the sympathy of those at home. You have a boy in the army; he has been taught that this is the best government on the earth, that it is his duty to sustain it, he has been taught to believe that the "Stars and Stripes" is the mighty and true emblem of this government, and that, being such, it is the emblem of all that is good. He has been taught to believe that he must fight for it, die for it, and, if need be, ask no better winding-sheet to wrap his body in when fallen upon the field of battle.

This has been his faith, and, complying with the dictates of that faith, he goes into the army to maintain it. And men have become so crazed and wild in their prejudices as to induce the father of this lad to write to him that the war is wrong. He writes a letter and says: "My boy, I want you to return home as soon as possible; the war is unjustifiable. You should desert; if you cannot do so and get home, why, desert to the enemy and be paroled. Get out of this unholy war somehow; it makes no difference how." This is the way many of these brave boys have been written to, and what is the result? What could be expected? The result is that the boy is discouraged, his energies have been crushed, and it is not possible for him to fight the battle of his country under such circumstances.

[A shower of rain coming on at this point, and there being no shelter for the reporters, some few of the speaker's remarks were lost.]

A great deal has been said in times gone by of the military prowess of the South. It was said, I believe, that one Southern man could whip five Yankees. [A voice, seven.] They have, however, become convinced that they were mistaken in this. They are satisfied that they cannot do any such thing, but to the contrary. It makes no difference whether a man belongs to Northern or Southern soil so long as he loves his country and loves the cause he is fighting for. A man is as brave when born in one clime as in the other. They have learned also another thing, and that the men are stronger, stouter, and can stand more hardship than they can, and undergo a longer fight with much less to eat than any other set of men on the face of God's earth. [Cheers.]

We find that the little army of the West, of which I believe every man is loyal in his heart, has traveled from Cairo over nearly every foot of ground between the Cumberland and the Mississippi rivers, down to the south of Vicksburg; has fought fifteen battles, and been

successful in every one. With the smallest army in the field (of the three armies under the respective commands of Generals Meade, Rosecrans, and Grant, General Grant's is the smallest) by having the support and sympathy of the greater portion of the people, that army has steadily advanced from victory to victory, and has determined to repay the people, and this government for its confidence and protection, and to this it is mainly owing that they have been successful on every field where they have met the enemy. And there is another reason than that for their success. It is this: there is a man who leads them who is an Illinoisan; his name is Ulysses S. Grant. In my judgment, he is one of the best generals the United States ever gave a commission to. He is not what is called a talking man, but a quiet, modest, unostentatious gentleman, and, withal, a successful man. And what is the secret of this success? It is because he keeps his counsel to himself, acts for himself, and judges for himself. Every officer and soldier loves him; and for these reasons, the love for Grant, the love for the Union, the love for the people, the love for the country and all its interests, with all these combined to bind them, not all the armed hosts of rebeldom hurled against them at one time could make a single division give way on the field of battle. [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

And I tell you now, my countrymen, when these Northwestern men are fighting for the Union, it is for the whole nation, for Massachusetts as for Illinois, and to bring South Carolina back and make her behave herself, just as much as any other State.

They are not fighting to learn the use of arms, but they will learn the use of them, and just let any gentlemen in this country attempt to establish this whispered Northwestern Confederacy (and I am fully convinced that an organization for this object exists, and which, if the Southern Confederacy should gain its independence, would act), just let them try it on, and you will see that this little but loyal army of General Grant's will make them seek some other country so fast that there will not be boats enough to carry them away. [Great cheering.] We want all of this country, and we intend to have it all.

These false preachers, in order to convince you and to satisfy you that you must make a contract with this so-called Southern Confederacy; have told you that by such action on your part you could make arrangements to have commercial relations between the Northwest and the South free from a tariff. No man or set of men would ever desire such a thing if they would ever travel south for a short time, and see the successes of the Southern brethren who have rebelled against the Union. If they would only travel over that country and

see how it has been laid waste by their own armies—and then our army marching through, perhaps, did not make it much better, but that is the case with all armies—he will be tired of secession. We will want the national law respected, so that there may be no more rebellion. We have whipped them fifteen or twenty times; and if that don't do, give them more, and whip them till they writhe with pain. Instead of the Government of the United States asking them for peace, make them beg for peace. [Applause.] When they do that, there will be no more Southern nor any other rebellion in this country.

Now, I want to ask you, how is it possible for any man in a country like this to be disloyal to his government? How is it possible that any man in this country can conceive the thought or idea of sympathizing with rebellion against such a government as this? Can any man in Chicago, when he looks over this vast and beautiful lake, casts his eyes back and sees this great and prosperous city—prospering on account of the energy of its people, prospering because of the institutions of the country, because of its equal laws and constitution of that Government which is the same to all—can he have any feeling of disloyalty within him? Can a man look upon these grand pictures, these lakes, these rivers, these plains, these prairies, this beautiful North and South and West, with mighty rivers and lakes and mountains, plains and valleys, and all that there is in the country to make it beautiful and grand; see its prosperity, its growing cities, towns and villages; the education of the people, the state of civilization—all these things—and when he comes to reflect upon them, is it possible he can prove a traitor to his country? Where is the cause for it? Where is the reason of it? Where is the excuse for it? Where is the justification? There is none to be found, not one! And if any man becomes disloyal, it is because there are devilish designs and corruptions at his heart.

My countrymen, let us look back for a few years and view the prosperity and happiness that blessed all our land, and then cast your eyes around you and see the condition of our country now. Do not ask yourself who is President, or what is his politics; but ask, have we not hitherto had a good and beneficent government? And if so, have we not the same government yet? Your answer must be in the affirmative; and my friends, if we are but true to ourselves, true to our cause, true to the principles we have been educated in from our earliest infancy, we shall have that government still. Turn, if you please, your thoughts to the many sanguinary battles of the Revolution. See what it cost our sires to establish this government—did

they not pour out their blood freely as water to accomplish this, to give us this priceless heritage of national liberty and independence under a form of government that should exist forever? Consider these sacred remembrances of those illustrious men and then tell me, whether it is worth preserving, tell me whether this rebellion began in infamy, perjury and crime—carried on by blood, pillage and treason, and so end, if successful, in destroying forever, the last hope of mankind, tell me if this shall succeed? [Cries of “No, never.”]

In all these facts, we may realize a lesson clearly pointing out our duty. It is to lay fast hold on that old flag, keep step to the music of the Union, unfurl its ample folds, and with a heart of courage, and a will that knows no faltering and dismay, let it flutter over every burg, and wave over every town and hamlet, and all traitors, like the wicked prince of Babylon, shall smite their knees in terror and dismay, as if the handwriting was upon the wall. Let them know that they must bow before it, or kiss its untarnished folds, and swear by all that is great and good never to violate its sanctity again or infringe a right it represents—let this be done and all will be well. And I appeal to, and entreat you all, my countrymen, by all that you hold sacred; by the glorious memories of the past, and once bright hopes of the future; by the memory of the gallant ones who have fallen upon the gory fields of the South; by the wounded and suffering who yet languish in our midst; by the sorrow and mourning that this wicked rebellion has brought upon our land, once happy, to be faithful, vigilant, untiring, unswerving, determined come what may, dare to be men and do what is right! Stand by your country in all her trials and at any cost.

Let it not be said that those glorious boys that now sleep beneath the red clay of the South, or the green sod of our own loved State, have died in vain. Let those who are traducing the soldiers of the government know the enormity of their crime and their error—try to reclaim them and bring them back to duty and to honor. If they heed not your appeals—if they still persist in their errors and their heresies—if they will not aid in maintaining the government and the laws that protect them, and continue in their wicked aid and encouragement of this rebellion—send them to the other side, where they belong, for the man who can live in this peaceful, prosperous and happy land without being loyal and true to it, ought, like Cain, to be branded with an indelible mark and banished forever from his native paradise. No traitor, no sympathizer, no man who can lisp a word in favor of this rebellion or impair the chances of the Union cause,

is fit for any other rule than Jeff Davis. He should be put in front of the Union army, where he will get justice. [Applause.]

The man that can to-day raise his voice against the Constitution, the laws or the government, with the design of injuring or in any way obstructing their operation, should, if I could pass sentence upon him, be hung fifty cubits higher than Haman, until his body blackened in the sun and his bones rattled in the wind.

In bidding you good-night I trust I do so to loyal, good, true-hearted citizens and patriots, who love the country, in the hope that you may all reflect upon the duties of all men to their country in the hour of peril, and determine, with renewed zeal and fervor, to give such aid and assistance to the government and the army of the United States, in the prosecution of the war, as will cause that banner again to float in triumph from every hill and mountain-top and in every vale, from the north to the south and from the east to the west. May its untarnished escutcheon kiss every breeze that is wafted from the balmy waters of the South to the frozen regions of the North, or that comes from the golden plains of the far West to mingle with those of the East. May it be unfurled in honor and pride upon every ocean where civilization has penetrated, and stand side by side with the banners of the proudest nations of the earth. [Great applause.]

Let me tell you that the assistance the people can give will secure all this, and bring peace, honor and renown to every hearthstone and fireside in the land. Then we can sing songs of thankfulness, joy and praises to the great Author of all these blessings, who holds the destinies of nations and of continents in the hollow of His hand. Then we shall feel proud again that we bear the name of American citizens, and shall be secure in the conviction that it will be handed down in its strength and majesty to future generations.

This is the boon we crave, the prize we are struggling for. Secure these, and if we die, in the consciousness that it will be in a righteous and holy cause and that the history of our country, when written by an impartial pen, will do us justice and hand our names down untarnished to our children, we shall feel satisfied and our proudest thought shall be that we died a soldier of the Union.

Let us but feel and realize that this is the feeling of the people at home, and that our country and friends will extend to our families protection, sympathy, and kindness, and gratitude, and I tell you that Jeff Davis and all his minions can never drive the Army of the Tennessee back to the Mississippi, until it goes up with the old banner floating above them proclaiming peace as we return to our homes, friends and family altars. [Great applause.]

Speech of General Logan at DuQuoin, June 10, 1869,
in memory of the fallen heroes of the war.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We meet here to-day that we may pay a tribute of respect to the memory of our fallen comrades. It is important and proper for us to do this that we may see that the memory of those who have fallen in the conflict for the preservation of our institutions, and the perpetuation of liberty and Christian civilization shall ever remain fresh as the flowers of spring in our hearts. Hence, with each succeeding year, at the return of that day when nature is clothed in her richest garb, we should assemble together and strew the fresh flowers of blooming May upon the sod that covers the beloved remains of those who speak not for themselves:

For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn,
Or busy housewife ply her evening care;
No children run to lisp their sires return,
Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.

We commemorate this day not because it is the return of the date of any great battle which has been fought in this nation, not because of any great event which has occurred, or because of any important declaration made, but we select from among these that it may be known as the day for decorating the graves of our fallen heroes and patriots who sacrificed their lives upon the altar of their country's weal; who bravely fought for this land, for it fell, and for it died—those noble patriots who willingly gave up their lives that you and I and all our fellow countrymen might have such protection under the ægis of the Constitution and laws of a republican form of government as each and every citizen is entitled to.

This respect we pay to those men is contradistinguished from others, not because those who thus fell and died were Christians, or better men than many who died before them. Nor is it because of their death alone, or the manner of their death, but because of the sacred object for which their lives were given up. They did not die as men ordinarily die; but as precious sacrifices offered upon the altar of liberty; as emblems of the spirit of that freedom which burns in the hearts of all true patriots. What promises they had of the future, what hopes they entertained, neither you nor I can say; but one thing we do know, that they were patriots in life, and heroes in death. The graves before us are the incontrovertible evidence of this fact.

They have given, by their death, a noble example to the world;

one which you and I, if occasion should again occur, should be proud to follow; a death which no man in this land should be ashamed of; a death that will be remembered by grateful hearts. To-day you called the roll, but those who lie sleeping here failed to answer the summons; and as the vast national roll is called throughout the land to-day thousands of others will likewise fail to hear the call and to answer. They fell in a distant land, on rugged mountain sides, in shady valleys, along the river's winding banks, and on the blood-stained plain. Many sleep in far-off graves, unnumbered and unknown. There their sacred ashes rest in peace. But though many leagues away, though in graves unmarked by monument or slab, yet, not forgotten, they live in our hearts; and we assemble here this day to show the people of this land that a patriot's memory is held sacred by a grateful Nation. That his death is mourned with true and earnest tears. That while we respect his sleeping dust, and mourn his death, memory of his noble deeds and sacrifices is ever fresh and green, engraved on the tablets of our hearts.

Then, let each father and mother, each son and daughter, in this broad land, whatever may have been their views in the past, or opinion now, join us in doing honor to the heroic dead. Let us show the world that although they sleep their long sleep, yet while time rolls on, and patriotic hearts beat in unison with their country's good, the memory of such shall be fondly cherished. And in evidence of this, with each returning year a grateful people shall strew their graves with the flowers of spring—sweet emblems of innocence over the heart of the brave.

At a time when a dark and threatening cloud rolled up from our southern horizon, and the muttering of the distant thunder's roar was heard, and fierce lightning shot out from behind the murky folds—a time when the angry growl of war reverberated across the land in deep and threatening tones—then it was that each patriot looked the fierce and coming storm in the face. It was then, when our beloved country was trembling in the balance of fate, that these noble-hearted heroes embarked in the cause of liberty; and when the first fire of the enemy's guns leaped forth, it kindled a patriotic blaze in the heart of each man and woman in the land that loved our flag—the glorious stars and stripes; and this fire, being once kindled, glowed and burned until it swelled to one mighty blaze of patriotism, that swept across the continent as the fiery sheet drives along the dry prairie, and twenty millions of Columbia's sons and daughters wheeled into the ranks of loyalty and patriotism—a mighty host, evincing their devotion to their flag and country; swearing before God and men that the precious

liberties purchased by the blood of their forefathers should never be sacrificed to the arm of treason or foreign foe.

There was a grand gathering there.
 It was the gathering of patriotic hosts.
 "In arms the huts and hamlets rise,
 From winding glen, from upland town,
 They poured each hardy tenant down."
 * * * * *
 "Prompt at the signal of alarms
 Each son of freedom rushed to arms."

From city and country, from hill and valley, mountain and plain, at freedom's call the bands of patriots came. Like a whirlwind the flame rushed over the land from side to side, and the universal watchword was: "This country shall be free." Such was the deep determination of every true heart. Then you could see the great moving mass going forward, not like the dark and stealthy mist creeping up from the murky swamps; but like the bright Aurora, rising and spreading his beams of azure light. Then it was that freemen united for the purpose of wiping out, with a strong and mighty arm, the dark stain that had gathered on the bright escutcheon of our liberty. What a scene was then presented! See the long line of patriots as they come down the valley and over the mountains! Hear the clash of arms and the deep boom of the cannon! Bugle notes in the morning summoned men to take the flag of our country in hand and carry it everywhere throughout the nation, and thus show to the world that our republican form of government is a thing worth preserving, worth even dying for. This was an exhibition of patriotic devotion worthy of imitation by all those who may come after them.

When we see such devotion as was exhibited by these men, shall we forget those who fell amid the contest? It is to show our remembrance of these we assemble to-day—we, the citizens of the country; we, the broken remains of the army of the Republic, the fragments left from the fearful ravages of a bitter war. When the commotion ended and the flag ceased to be shattered and torn by internal foes, then we gathered together the fragments of that mighty army of liberty into one united band, and, though it is but the union of fragments, yet we call it the Grand Army of the Republic; and we have sworn to honor the memory of our fallen comrades as long as life shall last and our Republic lives. That long shall they live in memory, if not in being. These brave men stand in history and in the hearts of a *grateful* people where you and I can never stand. The man who lays down his fortune and life for his country is a happy man. He is relieved from the ills of life and from the shafts of cal-

ummy which those are subject to who live on. The man who dies a patriot, falls, if he falls a Christian, to rise again. For that man's name will live as long as time itself endures or the name of man is written. It is indelibly enstamped upon the memory of the patriots who live after him, so that it will never fade from their minds. Their names,

As lonely columns stand sublime,
 Flinging their standards high,
 Like dials which the wizard time
 Had reared to count his ages by.

This is the kind of a name the patriots win; this is the kind of a name they will ever leave behind them.

There is one thing connected with this subject which I have mentioned once or twice before; but the correctness of my opinion in regard thereto has been doubted. I have said on former occasions that these men who died for their country did not die alone that our flag should wave over the land; that there was more in the contest than this—civilization was at stake, Christianity was at stake, and liberty most certainly upon the result of the contest. I have said that through the death of these men that not only was the flag of the Republic preserved—that emblem of our liberty—but that Christianity achieved a victory. For just below the sacred cross waves the flag of freedom; the former forever overlooking the latter. And I say it for the reason that, as far back as the history of the world reaches, we find that whenever the sword has entered any free and enlightened country to destroy it, as the nation suffered, so has its civilization and Christianity suffered. Turn your eyes to the history of the Old World and glance over its pages, and there you find this truth verified, that wherever rebellion has destroyed governments liberal in their form, their civil and religious progress has been blighted.

Once the honor most esteemed by enlightened and brave men, was to be called a Roman citizen. Rome was the mistress of nations, and for a time a mighty Republic, the home of freedom, civilization and culture. But what is it now? A pile of majestic ruins, records of its departed greatness, and so with other nations. Italy, once a proud and independent people—now a nation of organ-grinders and peddlers. Athens, once the seat of learning, now lives only in its ruins and history. Jerusalem, the Holy city and seat of the Christian religion, now in the hands of oriental bigots. The verdict of history is that where liberty is destroyed, Christianity sinks into darkness. Hence, I say that these men fought not only for the protection of our flag, but also for the preservation and perpetuation of Christianity in this

land; for Christianity cannot long flourish where liberty is destroyed. If one dies the other fades away. Christianity follows the Bible; liberty and Christianity go together. If one dies the other dies also. And as it was in this land, the preservation of our flag and free institutions of this country was the preservation of the Christian religion as much as it was of the liberties of the people. And if we ask ourselves whether we believe this, I think our response must be, we do. Then we say these men have not died in vain. They perished in a righteous cause. And every man and woman in the country should honor their names and hold their memory sacred so long as the flag of Christian freedom waves above superstition and anarchy.

And you ought to remember that these soldiers from the time they entered the army and swore allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, gave themselves to the cause of God and their country, in the true spirit of John Brown. Slavery became extinct, and liberty leaped from its darkness and chains, liberated from its prison-house by the conquering heroes, who as they marched sang with earnestness and life that song:

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom which transfigures you and me;
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

This was the feeling that burned in the hearts of these men as they fought for liberty and freedom. I believed then it was right, and standing beside their graves to-day, their mouldering dust being witness, I repeat it. I believed it was right.

In every country, no matter what its form of government, there is always prejudice against the living, and sometimes this extends to the dead. The piece of history that I now propose to give you may sound strangely, yet it is true. We all have a deep respect for our Revolutionary sires; we revere their memory. The name of George Washington is precious to us all. He lives in every heart to-day. And why? Because he was a true patriot; because he led our patriotic sires to victory in behalf of liberty and freedom. But do you not know that during the Revolution, which secured to us such priceless blessings, these patriotic fathers organized a society called the Cincinnati. Baron Steuben was the first president and George Washington was the second, thus linking patriotic hearts in closer bonds of union. But even they escaped not the shafts of envy. So great was the prejudice against these Revolutionary fathers in some parts of the country that even after the war was over and liberty won

that the graves of some who had fallen in battle were desecrated. Plowshares turned the turf which rested on the bosoms of fallen braves, and from the soil, enriched by their sacred ashes, ruthless avarice reaped a bounteous harvest. Are you not aware that one State, Rhode Island, passed a law that no man belonging to that organization should hold office in that State, and that Massachusetts also condemned it, and that afterward the pressure was so strong against these acts that the same States repealed them? Such has always been the course of prejudice. It grows without reason or cause, even in a land where patriots live and freedom and liberty flourish. And it is the same to day as in the past.

Out of that society has our present organization grown. It has been formed to honor the patriotic dead, and keep ever living and fresh the memory of their noble deeds; to preserve their sacred names and graves from the blighting hand of prejudice, for the time is coming when all this prejudice will be swept away. The Grand Army of the Republic has been organized on nearly the same basis as the Cincinnati, and for nearly the same object. It is a secret society taken from the order of our forefathers, and here are the first fruits of that society. It was not organized for the purpose of raising any one man, or set of men, or party, to position and power; but for the purpose of preserving the names and memories of those heroes who have fallen in the contest for their country's life, and for protecting their widows and orphans. And from that society proceeds this idea of strewing their comrades' graves with flowers. From it the order was issued for the purpose of keeping their memories ever green in the minds of the living, and to perpetuate in the hearts of the people of this country the principle that lives in this government, and for which our fallen comrades died—the great principle of liberty, the idea of freedom and universal equality in our government under the laws so far as individual rights are concerned. The grand and glorious object for which these men poured out their blood and forfeited their lives should be kept alive in each heart. This is the grand idea we have in view. If this is envy, then the organization is wrong, the strewing of these graves with flowers is wrong, the cause for which they perished was wrong, and they died in vain. Let no man thus slander the heroic dead. Believing that they were right and that their cause was an holy one, we have gathered around these sacred mounds to-day for the purpose of solemnly pledging ourselves that this noble purpose shall be carried out by us while we live; and that we will teach it to our children, so that, when we too are numbered with the dead, those who remain may catch up

the refrain of liberty and inspire every bosom with the desire to emulate the deeds of those who sleep before us. For this purpose, and with this noble object in view, we mutually pledge ourselves one to another.

Then as oft as the 30th of May returns with time's annual round, let a grateful nation remember its dead, and with a floral offering decorate the tombs of its fallen heroes, while the dropping tear moistens the cold sod that covers their sleeping dust. To them we owe the liberty we enjoy, to them we owe the preservation of our institutions, and shall we not hold them in grateful remembrance? And though we may often differ in opinion, let us here be united. In God's name, let us respect and love the dead who have died for us.

Let this beautiful custom be perpetuated until the day shall become a hallowed day in the history of freedom. It carries with it the idea of our loss, and dear cost of liberty. It brings fresh to mind the deeds of our country's martyrs, it keeps alive and warm the great principles for which our sires poured out their blood, and on which our Republic is based. Turn your eyes upon those quiet graves, how sweetly sleep the precious dead.

They lived for a name, for their country they died,
 They were all that to life entwined them,
 Not soon shall the tears of their country be dried,
 So long as their friends stay behind them.

[From the Iowa State Register, June 6, 1877.]

A HERO'S ELOQUENCE—A BRILLIANT BATTLE PICTURE BY GENERAL
 JOHN A. LOGAN.

I suppose there is not here to-day one who took up arms in defense of the country, who does not on an occasion of this kind see the vast armies marshaled again and passing in panorama before him, and as the picture flashes before the mind, how his heart swells, his imagination grows, and in a moment again he hears the word of command, and on yonder high ground, in the midst of the tall oaks, he sees the line of enemy moving; he hears the muffled drum in the distance, the bugle notes to the cavalry to forward, the dull heavy rumbling of artillery carriages, the heavy tramp of infantry columns, the commands of officers, "Forward, guide center." On they come. What a sight! He wonders why our own lines are not moving. An officer rides up and gives orders, and moves on to some other command. Soon orderlies and staff officers are seen riding from camp to camp,

at full speed, the long roll is heard, "To arms," "To arms," the line is quickly formed; skirmishers are deployed; the artillery moves; the cavalry takes position on the flanks; the order is given to "Forward the skirmish line;" a shot is heard, then another, then another; the skirmishers engage; they are supported by one detachment after another from the main line; he hears the rattle of musketry, growing quick and sharp, sounding like hail pouring down; then the cavalry move; the artillery opens, and, like thunders in the heavens, it roars; the very ground shakes and trembles under the shock; the shells shriek through the air, bursting and shooting forth flames of fire, dealing out death and desolation in their track; the infantry are all engaged; the rattle of musketry is heard as the long roll from a thousand drums is given; charge after charge is made, one line gives way, then recovers, the other falls back, then moves forward; the sabre-stroke is heard; the cavalry engages in deadly fight; the air is thick with sulphurous smoke as if from the bottomless pit; the lightning streams of flame flash across the field; the wounded are carried to the rear; the groans of the dying float on the air; the right flank of our line is turned, and on in deadly arms comes the enemy; the musketry pours death into our columns; the artillery makes wide gaps in our lines with its deadly shells; our cavalry on the right is retreating from the field in the midst of great slaughter; there is a lull in the firing; a weak spot is discovered in the enemy's center, the command is heard, "Close up," "Steady," "Forward, march;" on the columns move, receiving the fire of the enemy, and as our lines are thinned, the command heard is "Close up," "Close up;" the space is filled, on our columns move; the stern command is given, "Charge bayonets;" with the glistening steel to the front, with hands clenched on the guns, forward they move at steady step; the command is given to "Charge along the whole line;" the artillery opens its deadly fire; the cavalry on the left come, sabre in hand like a hurricane; the infantry move at a rapid pace; the very earth shakes beneath the tread; the breasts of brave men heave, the eyes glare, the teeth are firmly set, and the great line with "Liberty" on their colors sweep forward, and the air resounds with the voices shouting "Victory or death;" as they sweep on over wall and ditch. They break the enemy's center, and in confusion the enemy roll back, they retire slowly, fighting desperately; bayonet strikes against bayonet, saber clashes against saber, fire flashes from the highly-tempered steel; then hand to hand they fight, and in both lines thick and fast they fall; horses trample over the dying and the dead, where in piles they lay; the enemy again fall back on the left; they retreat on their right,

they are in confusion, broken in the center; they are lost; they leave the field; the day is ours! In memory we gaze; the field is literally covered with muskets, camp equipage, cannon, wounded, dying and dead; a shout goes up along our lines; the air resounds with cheer upon cheer, when, high over the battle plain, the old starry banner we bore flashes out its stars of glory.

LETTER OF HON. JOHN A. LOGAN TO HON. JOHN A. RAWLINS, SECRETARY OF WAR, IN REGARD TO THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING THE IMPROVEMENTS OF THE ILLINOIS RIVER.

WASHINGTON, June 17, 1869.

Sir: The importance which we of the West attach to the continuation of the improvement of the Illinois river makes it proper that I should submit to you, in brief, the claims which should commend that subject to your favorable consideration.

In 1852 Congress passed an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the improvement of certain harbors and rivers," approved August 30, 1852. In the body of that act occurs this section: "For the improvement of the navigation of the Illinois river, the sum of \$20,000." In 1853 work was commenced under this appropriation.

In the report of Joseph E. Johnston, "superintendent of western river improvements" (which may be found in Executive Document, Second Session, Thirty-third Congress, Vol. I. part II., 1854-5, page 222, dated Washington, September 27, 1854), he says: "In the fall of 1853 the Illinois was surveyed from its mouth to Copperas creek—one hundred and fifty miles—and a channel cut through Guilford bar. The work was resumed in April, 1854; the survey continued to the mouth of the canal, the dredge boat in the meantime working on Naples flats. When the survey was finished the dredge boat was removed to Spring Creek bar, the one nearest the canal, and employed upon it and Hennepin flats until the 11th of July, when it grounded. The board of engineers of lakes, harbors, and western rivers recommended in their report of August 1, 1854, the extension of the survey of the river to LaSalle."

In this report he asks for a further appropriation of \$20,000, showing that the dredging of the bars and flats in said river was deemed very important to its navigation. I would also call attention to the report of the United States agent, made to Colonel Johnston, dated August 26, 1854, in which he says: "The improvement effected consists in cutting out of Guilford bar, on the lower part of the river,

in the fall of 1853, making it easy for low water navigation. In April, of the present year, 1,870 cubic yards of shells were removed from Naples flats, when the boat was transferred to Spring Creek bar; 1,500 yards were removed, making both comparatively easy of passage, but not to the extent contemplated. From thence the boat was removed to Hennepin flats, from which was removed 1,500 yards, when she grounded, and where she now lies, waiting for a rise in the river. The river business consists in the transit trade between the eastern collection districts and the west, *via* the port of Chicago, to the ports of Alton and St. Louis, and way trade of the river country in both directions. The passage of boats by the Gopher for the months of May, June, July, and August eastward amount to 460 steamboats and 989 canal boats and barges of 120 tons average, being towed by steam-tugs. This is for the trade passing eastward. The western way trade is independent of this."

Following these reports, Congress, up to 1868, continuously provided for the continuation of the survey of the said river, under the direction of the Secretary of War. In June, 1868, the House of Representatives passed a bill making appropriations for the repairs, preservation and completion of certain public works, and for other purposes, in which bill eighty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for the continuation of the work upon the Illinois river. The bill failed, however, to become a law. In order, however, that the necessary work on rivers and harbors should not stop, Congress, in July of the same year, passed an act entitled "An act making appropriations to supply the deficiencies in appropriations for the service of the government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868, and for other purposes;" approved July 26, 1868; which provided "for the repair, preservation, extension and completion of certain public works on rivers and harbors, to be expended, under the direction of the Secretary of War, \$1,500,000; provided, that said expenditures shall not be applied to any works not mentioned in the bill making appropriations for repairs, preservation and completion of certain public works, and for other purposes, which passed the House of Representatives June 30, 1868."

Under the provisions of this act, the Secretary of War allotted, in accordance with the provisions of the House bill, which failed to become a law, eighty-five thousand dollars, to be expended in the continuation of the work upon the Illinois river, by which said allotment and order of the Secretary of War, the said eighty-five thousand dollars became a credit in favor of the Illinois river, the same as if the bill which passed the House of Representatives, June 30, 1868,

had become a law. But afterward, August 27, 1868, on the recommendation of Colonel J. H. Wilson, the Chief of Engineers, General Humphreys asked a division of said appropriation of eighty-five thousand dollars, to the work on the Rock Island rapids, which was accordingly done, by the approval of the Secretary of War, August 31, 1868, thereby preventing the expenditure of the said sum on the Illinois river, where it legitimately belonged, and expending it where it was not contemplated by law.

Congress, at its last session, evidently having the same objects in view which prompted the act of July 26, 1868, passed an act entitled "An act making an appropriation for the improvement of rivers and harbors for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1869, and the year ending June 30, 1870," the text of which is as follows: "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the sum of two million dollars is hereby appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 29, 1869, and the year ending June 30, 1870, to be expended for the repair, extension, preservation and completion of works for the improvements of rivers and harbors, under the direction of the Secretary of War; provided, that the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to cause such expenditures to be made so as best to subserve the interests of commerce, and he is required to report to Congress at the opening of its December session, all expenditures made under the provisions of this act up to that time, in detail." Approved April 10, 1869.

I am informed that the Chief of Engineers to the Secretary of War has made no recommendation for an allotment of any of this appropriation of two millions of dollars to be expended in the improvement of the Illinois river. Why this important work has been overlooked in the allotment of this appropriation is something that I cannot understand. It certainly cannot be that this law is so construed as to exclude the continuation of the work on the Illinois river. It was evidently intended only to include works of improvement already commenced, and the appropriation might be expended either for the repair of works completed or the extension and continuation of the works commenced, or the preservation of those completed or only partially completed. By comparison of this statute with the statute of July 26, 1868, it will be found that the same language is used in both; and I presume that I am not mistaken when I say that both statutes were prepared by the able Chief of Engineers to the War Department now in charge.

Under the statute of July 26, 1868, an allotment was made by the Secretary of War, for the improvement of the Illinois river,

on the recommendation of the same Chief of Engineers. So far as the construction of the law is concerned it has already been properly construed by your predecessor, so as to include the work on the Illinois river. It will not do to say that the continuation of this work would not well subserve the interests of commerce. Without going into a discussion on that subject, I will merely refer you to the reports that have been made by different engineers under the sanction of the government, from 1852 to the present time. And especially in this connection do I call your attention to the exhaustive report of Colonel J. H. Wilson, of the date of February 15, 1867, hereto appended, in which he regards it as one of the most important works for the country, in both a military and commercial point of view. Neither will it do to exclude this great interest from its share in that appropriation on the ground of the insufficiency of the appropriation. It was not expected that it would complete all of the works to which it might be applied. The intention clearly was to use it in the best manner for the purpose of the preservation, extension or continuation of the works which were important in the development of a great country. If we were to wait until we should get appropriations sufficient to complete any great work, made to apply to that particular work, we would wait a long time before we should have a sufficient appropriation for that purpose. It is only by applying such amounts as come to us under appropriations from time to time, in the continuation or preservation of a work that we are enabled to complete that work.

The State of Illinois, at the last session of its Legislature, appropriated \$400,000 to be expended on the improvements of the Illinois River, and with a fair allotment of this \$2,000,000 government appropriation we will be enabled to do a permanent work in the improvement of the navigation of that river, so as to insure a good outlet from the great chain of lakes to the Mississippi.

The work must not be considered as merely important to the State of Illinois, and that, therefore, that State should complete it; but it must be regarded from a national point of view. No dispassionate mind can regard it otherwise than as a great national work—one that looks to water transportation, at no distant day, to and from the Atlantic ocean.

I do not desire to enter into a lengthy discussion on this subject with the Secretary of War, being satisfied that a work of so great importance will commend itself to his good judgment.

I have, therefore, preferred merely to call your attention to the statutes and reports directly connected with this enterprise, and as

one of the Representatives of the State of Illinois I deem it not improper to ask you, sir, that this great interest shall not be ignored, and that a fair, just and appropriate allotment of this national appropriation shall be made.

Such allotment, together with the \$85,000 heretofore allotted, which should properly stand to its credit to be expended, under your official direction, on the continuation and extension of the improvement of the navigation of the Illinois river, will guarantee the success of a great national undertaking, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. I am, sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN.

HON. JOHN A. RAWLINS, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, MARCH 13, 1872.

General John A. Logan made a speech at Cairo, Illinois, a few days ago, and he said, during his remarks:

Mr. Schurz says he is in favor of filling up the bloody chasm between the rebels of the South and the loyal men of the North.

Yes, my fellow-citizens, I suppose he is sincere in what he says. He says let the chasm be filled up with Grant men. Who are the Grant men in this country? The Grant men are the men who went forward to fight in favor of this Union. To aid and sustain it in its direst troubles and worst calamities. [Applause.] The loyal people of this land, the wounded men, the one-armed men, the one-legged men, the old men and the old women that prayed for the success of the Union arms,—these are the Grant people of the country.

You are to fill the bloody chasm with these people.

For what purpose? That the rebels may walk over their bodies according to this man Schurz. Fill the bloody chasm with the loyal people of this country! Why didn't he say fill the chasm with the bodies of rebels? I do not desire anything of that kind. I don't want any slaughter, either in figure or in reality; not even if it is to be done in imagination. I don't want anything of the kind. I don't want my imagination to go so far as to cause any bodies to be used for that purpose. But I tell you the bloody chasm has been filled; it was filled with the bodies of the men who fought on both sides—on the Union side, and on the rebel side; filled with the bodies of Union

men as good as ever shouldered a musket in defense of any country or any cause.

Is it not strange to you to-night that a man like Senator Schurz, who claims to be a Union soldier—and I have nothing to say about that except to refer to Greeley's "History of the Rebellion;" as he is their authority, I am willing to let him speak, though I accord him all patriotism during the war;—I say is it not strange that he should so express himself?

They desire to fill this chasm with the bodies of Union men. Indeed, this is strange!

LOGAN ON THE WITNESS STAND IN THE CREDIT MOBILIER.

JUDGE POLAND: Well, we are now through with this part of the case. The name of Senator Logan was mentioned a day or two ago, and he is here at my request to make a statement.

Senator Logan was then sworn, and testified as follows:

I have seen the testimony of Mr. Ames given before the committee; I have nothing whatever to conceal in this transaction so far as I am concerned; Mr. Ames said I agreed with him to purchase certain stock; I did so in 1867 or 1868; I agreed to purchase ten shares of the stock at par; I paid nothing to Mr. Ames at that time, and received no stock; on the 20th of June following Mr. Ames came to me and said the stock was entitled to a dividend or dividends; he made a statement and gave me, which showed that the dividends up to that time paid the amount due, and left a balance of \$329; Mr. Ames handed me a check for this amount; I had paid Mr. Ames no money and he had given me no stock; I took the check with the understanding that if I did not conclude to receive the stock within a few days I would let him know; I kept the check three or four days before I asked the cash on it; then I presented it to the Sergeant-at-arms, in his office and received the money; I retained it for a few days and thought about the matter; in the meantime I received a letter from a friend giving me some information about the matter, when I went to Mr. Ames and told him I would not take the stock; he said very well, and remarked that it was good stock, or he thought it a good investment—something of the sort; I paid him back the \$329 with, I think, \$2 interest; Mr. Ames hesitated about the interest, the time having been so short, but I insisted on his taking it, and thus the matter ended; the memorandum I made at the time refreshes my memory; I don't say this to the committee by way of excuse, or to cover up anything, but state the facts as they are; the stock was never delivered to me or to anybody for me, nor have I ever received anything directly or indirectly, except

as I have stated here; I had no hesitation in making the agreement with Mr. Ames to take the stock at the time, and so far as corruption or wrong was concerned, there was no legislation before Congress at the time affecting the road; I don't recollect of any legislation in regard to the road during the negotiation between Mr. Ames and myself; as far as influence was concerned there was no necessity for Mr. Ames or anybody else making a bargain to obtain my influence; my constituency was favorably disposed toward the road, and I was naturally a friend to it; I have always voted to sustain the road, and would do so to-day.

[From the Shawneetown Mercury, September 26, 1872.]

General Logan, in his Fairbury speech, paid a truthful and handsome compliment to the Republican party and the administration of President Grant in the brief extract we publish below. It was a clear statement of the whole matter in a few words, and is worthy of a careful study:

The Republican party stands upon the principles upon which this government was founded, and by the success of which, during the last twelve years, a gigantic rebellion has been crushed, and peace, prosperity and happiness been made to smile on our whole land. What is now the position of our Democratic friends in relation to these great questions which interest us all so much to-day? You may call that party Democratic, Liberal, or whatever name you choose, but I state the fact to be, that you have abandoned every principle that you ever advocated.

If the old Democratic party believed in the doctrine of so-called "State rights," and if you believed that theory of government to have been true in theory, I ask you why it is that you have abandoned it altogether, and permitted yourselves to be sold out, like mere voting machines, to old Horace Greeley?

The Republican theory was that States had certain rights under the general government, and that within the limits of their powers not delegated to the general government they had perfect freedom to act. The two theories came into conflict force against force, in the late terrible conflict, and the decision was made by the arbitrament of the sword. At the close of the war, then came the work of reconstruction—the finance, the landed interests, the homestead interests, to be legislated upon—and they were all Republican measures—and

they have been successfully carried out in pursuance of the Republican theories.

You, as a Nation, have expanded and grown greater under Republican rule within the last ten years, to a degree, and in a ratio greater than you did in forty years under Democratic rule.

The financial theory of the Republican party has been ratified by a full and complete success; and if you Democrats and Liberals go forward you must go on our line; and if you follow, your line must go backward.

If you propose to change the foreign and domestic policy of this government, for God's sake get us some other commander-in-chief besides old Horace Greeley! Greeley says you Democrats are all a set of scoundrels, liars, thieves and cut-throats—which I certainly do not believe—but he says so, and you admit it by nominating him as your candidate for President at Baltimore. Great God! to see a Democrat voting for Horace Greeley!! If the day of miracles were not past, we should be inclined to think this the most wonderful of any on record. These Liberal sore-heads are just using you as a *Democratic cat's paw*—a sponge to clean up their dirt with—and you have nothing to say.

The position of the Democratic party is a very humiliating one indeed.

These Liberals turn to the Republican party and say: As Sumner, Schurz, Trumbull, Tipton, Palmer and Kœrner have all left you, how are you going to get along without them?

The question is not how are we going to get along without them—but it is, rather, how in thunder we ever got along with them!

In "losing" them the Republican party has got rid of the biggest part of its corruption.

When Schurz goes about the country—a paid mercenary—talking about the "corruption" of the Republican party,—he lies,—and if any one takes exception to that statement, just tell him that John A. Logan said it.

Under the Republican administration of President Grant the country is prosperous, and every department of trade and every industry is flourishing more extensively than ever before—and not until every citizen, without regard to race, or color, is protected in all his civil rights, and the laws shall be equally enforced in every State in this Union—will the mission of the Republican party be fulfilled.

[From the Joliet (Ill.) Post and Mail, May 25, 1876.]

For twenty years John A. Logan, of Illinois, has been in active public life, and no dishonorable act has stained his record. Amid all the storm of calumny and abuse hurled at prominent men, both with cause and without, Senator Logan stands unscathed, and no attempt has been made to sully his character. No dishonor attaches, or can attach to his name. No man can point to a single act of corruption or fraud and say that it is the work of John A. Logan. As a legislator, a statesman, and a soldier, he stands the proud peer of our Nation's best men, and would, if he could be elected, fill the Presidential chair as gracefully, as ably, and as honorably as any of the distinguished gentlemen whose names have been mentioned in that connection. The *Post and Mail* simply gives voice to the public sentiment when it asks why should not Illinois present the name of Senator John A. Logan as a candidate for President at Cincinnati? Surely he has served the State long enough and faithfully enough to receive, unsolicited, this mark of her people's gratitude and appreciation. Pennsylvania will cast her vote for Governor Hartranft, her "favorite son"; Kentucky presents Mr. Bristow; Ohio will rally for Governor Hayes; Maine votes for Blaine; Indiana will endorse Governor Morton; and why should not Illinois go into the Cincinnati Convention with the name of Senator Logan inscribed upon her banners, and cast her first vote, at least, for him? If his spotless life, his long years of faithful service, and his fidelity to the interests of this State, are worthy of consideration, the people of Illinois owe it to themselves, as well as to him, to present as a candidate, and support by their votes, their distinguished fellow citizen, John A. Logan, for President of the United States.

LOGAN'S POPULARITY WITH THE PEOPLE.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Thursday, January 2, 1879.]

Neither your "great reformer," nor your cheating, vote-buying politician, can see the least reason in the world why General John A. Logan should have a following in his own State, as well as throughout the Northwest, far exceeding that of any other of his cotemporaries. Personal interests, old sores, and petty spites seem to have rendered these people partially blind. To one, however, who has watched the progress of events with an "unphilosophic" eye,

the reason is plain. During all the troublous period of the war, all the stormy, hesitating days of reconstruction, as well as through these later times, which have witnessed the shame and disgrace of the total disfranchisement of the Republicans of the South, General Logan's feelings, interests, and sympathies have been only an honest and fair exponent of the true Republican sentiment of the Nation. In this respect he stands almost singly and alone among our leading statesmen. When others have faltered, either through fear, false notions of expediency, or from a desire to make experiments in the way of conciliating the utterly irreconcilable Southern leaders, Gen. Logan has occupied no position of doubt or uncertainty. Better than any other leading statesman has he seemed to understand those gentlemen. Standing squarely upon the Republican doctrine of the equality of all men before the law, he has never hesitated a moment as to his duty. All he has asked is simply that justice and equality of political rights shall prevail at the South, as they ever do throughout our free Northwest. He is no friend to the agitation of this great sectional issue, except to secure the constitutional rights of all the people—the humblest as well as the highest. This position is perfectly unassailable and impregnable. The people everywhere understand this matter, and they know that John A. Logan never failed them in a critical time, whether he was leading his men to victory, or repelling the plantation arrogance of Southern "statesmen." The inspiration of his actions seems to be that of the people themselves—spontaneous, impulsive, right! His record in this respect is without spot, blemish, or weakness! How very few are the public men of whom this can be truthfully said! We have seen them yielding here, and experimenting and compromising there, when the rights of men were in the scale. The people understand all this business better than the philosophers and the cheating politicians give them the credit of doing, and they know that Logan has been faithful all through this post-bellum agitation, though often standing almost alone.

On the march from Atlanta to the sea, a Democratic corps commander left the swarms of colored people who gathered about the army behind him when he crossed a river, abandoning them to the tender mercies of the rebel cavalry. Logan, hearing of this atrocious meanness and poltroonery, ordered the pontoons to be left and defended until the last of the loyal blacks were safely over. In the Senate Chamber, General Gordon, who figured so conspicuously as a Ku-Klux leader, and who lately bears an unpleasant notoriety in connection with the "cipher dispatches," one day asserted that Logan must prove one of his statements or "take it back."

“I’m not the sort of man who takes things back,” was the instant reply of the Senator from Illinois, and the ex-rebel general soon found that plantation manners could not be relied upon in that quarter. It is such points as these in the character and career of John A. Logan that excite enthusiasm and endear him so to the people far and wide, and which are now bearing him on to an assured success—and the proudest success of his life.

LOGAN AT FORT DONELSON.

[From the Anderson (Ky.) News.]

General John A. Logan, who was recently elected to the United States Senate by the Republicans of the Illinois Legislature, was found severely wounded on the battle-field of Fort Donelson by our esteemed Circuit Clerk, Captain W. E. Bell, who, thinking him dead, took off his splendid sword and belt and sent them to his family. Captain Bell, who was then a gallant Confederate soldier, came upon General Logan stretched out upon the ground, dressed in full regimentals, his arms folded across his breast, his eyes closed, and giving no sign of life. While standing over, as he supposed, the dead body of the Federal Colonel, Captain Bell was joined by Captain Maderia, of the Confederate side, who recognized in Logan his old schoolmate. Maderia was deeply moved at what he thought to be the untimely fate of his youthful companion, and directed Captain Bell where to send the sword of the fallen chieftain. Logan was shot through the lungs, and his life hung on a thread for a long time. Maderia was afterward killed at Chicamauga.

THE GRANT TRIUMVIRATE ENSCONCED AT THE
CAPITOL.

SENATORS LOGAN AND CARPENTER AND THEIR WIVES—ZACH
CHANDLER—GLANCES BEHIND THE CURTAIN.

[Correspondence of the Record, 1879.]

WASHINGTON, February 28.—Senators Logan, of Illinois; Z. Chandler, of Michigan, with Matt Carpenter, of Wisconsin, now ensconced at the Capitol, will form the grand triumvirate in the new Senate and will play no unimportant part in the deliberations and political machinations of that body. Their election in the place of Dick Oglesby, Christiancy and Howe, will greatly strengthen the Repub-

lican side of the Senate intellectually, albeit at a very considerable loss of dignity and morality. It is an exchange of morals for brains, except in the case of Dick Oglesby for Logan, and then it is about an even thing, although I really think that Logan has something more of morals and considerably more brains than the departing Richard; at any rate, his wife has enough of both articles to make half a dozen ordinary Senators, and as John fully appreciates the great prize he possesses, and is largely guided by her advice, he cannot go far wrong.

As a matter of fact, Logan himself is generally underrated. It has become so popular to ridicule his bad grammar and "loud" style of oratory, that his good parts are almost entirely overlooked. Logan is not a deeply-learned man as Sumner was learned, nor is he a great man as Morton was great, but he is a strong man politically, and naturally a much abler man than half his colleagues in the Senate. He is a man of undoubted courage, of positive convictions, and of a large, generous nature. I have wintered and summered with him, and know that inside his sombre exterior are many as noble qualities as ever adorned any man. It is almost impossible to think of him without thinking of his wife, and it is quite impossible for one who knows them both to believe that a man who has so high appreciation of, and so loyal a devotion to, such a woman can be altogether or over-much bad. In fact, Logan is not a bad man either at heart or outwardly, and he is by no means a pigmy in intellect. His oratory is of the loud Western style of twenty years ago, and his sentences are involved, turgid and not seldom ungrammatical, but there are Senators on both sides of the chamber who can more than equal him in all three points, and discount him in general illiteracy.

Logan was always one of the marked men of the Senate. His huge, brigandish, black moustache and long black hair make him always conspicuous, and, in addition to these points, he is more swarthy than the lamented Douglas, and almost as short, for while his body and head are above medium size, his legs are so short that he is below medium stature. His oratory is of the "stump" order, loud and vigorous, but he is never prosy, like Christiancy, nor tiresome, like Howe. His temperament is bilious, and that often makes him moody and "blue," but otherwise he is a companionable man and an entertaining conversationalist. He is a hard worker, and an extensive, if not a profound reader.

When General Logan was a Democrat, we suppose, like any other member of that party who was not a hypocrite, he labored for the interests of that party; but when the supreme hour arrived that

revealed to General Logan that that party was not patriotic, in other words, when he had to choose between Democracy and his country, he proclaimed for the latter, and though this choice led him where danger and death confronted him at every step, he never turned aside until he aided to plant the old flag over a restored Union. When John A. Logan proclaimed his purpose to stand by the Union, "let life or death come," that single decision was worth ten thousand soldiers to the Union cause; indeed, if Mr. Logan, like Tilden, had converted himself into a state of indifference or Copperheadism towards the Union, southern Illinois would have been a battle ground, and thousands of lives and millions of money would have been destroyed.

There is not, all things considered, another Union man living, except General Grant, who rendered the Union more service than General Logan. This is the mainspring of the cause of that general hatred which the Copperhead has always bestowed upon him. But aside from Logan's splendid service in the war, he has since proved himself an able representative and a most active and useful Senator. The people can never reward General Logan too highly for his noble services during and since.

[From The Weekly Sun, Saturday, September 18, 1880.]

General Logan has often been reproached for his merciless slaughter of the King's English, and yet in his speech at Galesburg, the other night, he gave the following, which, as a bit of eloquence, is far ahead of the average stump speech:

The glacier engraves its record on the mountain sides. The river establishes its memorials in its progress to the sea. The ocean inscribes the history of its convulsions in the crags upon its shore. Everything in material nature is its own biographer. The Democratic party of the United States is no exception to the rule. It has written its own shameful history in the blood of three hundred thousand of its loyal countrymen. That history will be read by all men until the end of time. But what of the Republican party? Its record is also made. It is for all time. The iron shackles of the slave, piled mountain high, are evidence of the devotion of the Republican party to the liberty of man. The National flag, floating triumphantly upon all the land and upon every sea, proves that the National

authority under Republican custody has been maintained. The Treasury notes at par, and National bonds at a premium in all markets of the world, show financial credit under Republican administration without a parallel among Nations. Add to all this a condition of prosperity among all the people, such as was never before known, and we have a comprehensive summary of the achievements of the Republican party.

This is quite as good a bit of fine orating as anything his antagonists have ever said. The fact is that Logan takes much more pains with what he says than with how he says it.

[Wilmington, N. C., December 31, 1882.]

This gentleman reviewed in part the Porter case in the United States Senate on Friday last. It was our pleasure to be in Washington, and we had the opinion of gentlemen who are familiar with the whole case, and the universal expression was that Senator Logan had made a speech so strong that it was absolutely impossible for any of Porter's friends to answer it. General Logan is one of the greatest orators of the country, on any subject, but when he takes up a question that he is so well posted on, and has his heart in to the extent to which he is interested in the Fitz John Porter case, he fairly excels himself. And it is the general opinion of his friends, and the country, that his great speech, commenced on Friday, which will probably take three days to deliver, will be one of the ablest ever delivered in the United States Senate.

[From the official Republican paper of Menard County, December 2, 1880.]

No citizen stands before the country as General John A. Logan. Logan was born and bred a Democrat. It was instilled into him with his mother's milk, his education, association and practice. As between his party and his country he chose his whole country rather than half of it. For this he has been maligned, traduced and vilified in the most relentless and unwarrantable manner.

Logan was fêted by the Democracy while he was a Democrat. He was not kicked out of the party. They gave him place, position and power. He could have any rank in the Confederate army below that of Lieutenant-general. General Leonidas Polk, in command at Columbus, Ky., with his twenty-five thousand Confederates, would have welcomed Logan. Hundreds of men from Illinois came into this

camp. But Logan, true to his country, to his State and to the Union, did not join the Confederacy. On the contrary, he cast his lot on the Union side. He fought against his party in arms, against the men of the South with whom he sat and voted in Congress prior to the war. He fought for principles that he believed to be true, and for the principles that finally prevailed and that were reaffirmed at the polls November 2d.

This man—Illinois' greatest and most gifted son, second only to Grant himself—deserves the thanks and the applause of every patriot in the land. Especially does he deserve the thanks of the Union men of the North. It was no small thing for him to quit the associations of his life, break off from the principles that had been instilled into him and cast his fortune with that of a party against whom he had battled and spoke on every stump in Southern Illinois. Logan is again victorious. His valor and his cause are successful, and while his party accords to him the praise and the acclaim that is justly and decidedly his due, it will remember the Nation—every part of this land of liberty; it will remember the sunny South, devastated by war, plunged into debt, commerce gone, fields neglected; and it will endeavor, with all its power (and that is the strength of the Nation) to resuscitate all the resources of the South that do not savor of slavery and secession.

It is not the policy of the Republican party to tear down, as charged, but rather to build up and make the waste places even more fruitful than ever before, and there is no man in this Nation, no man in the Senate of the United States, better able to legislate and to foster the interests of the South than General John A. Logan, of Illinois.

The eyes of the country are upon him. Maine has her Blaine, New York her Conkling, Pennsylvania her Cameron, Ohio her Garfield, South Carolina her Hampton, Mississippi her Lamar, Georgia her Gordon, and Illinois her Logan—a name that will be as brilliant in the annals of the State as any, the sum of whose greatness has not already been sealed by the hand of death. All honor to Logan, Illinois' field-marshal.

And it was General Logan who stood at the head of the "Stalwart 306" at the Chicago Convention, and as firm as a rock, for the gallant soldier and statesman, General U. S. Grant.

GENERAL AND MRS. LOGAN.

The return of Mrs. Logan has seemed to brighten up things in the vicinity of Twelfth street, where they stop while in the city. She

seems to have fully recovered from the effects of her severe illness of last summer, and has lost none of her attractiveness and brilliancy. She is beyond question one of the handsomest women in Washington to-day, and her beauty has been enhanced lately by the change that has taken place in her hair. Formerly it was a fine gray. It is now the most beautiful white imaginable. It is exceedingly fine in quality, and very heavy in growth. Wearing it as she does, in a coil around the head, gives her the appearance of being crowned with a halo of white. I know of no one in Washington who is more popular, although the word beloved would better express it, than Mrs. Logan. Together, the general and his wife make a striking picture. He, with his black hair, in which can be observed hardly a gray line, his military bearing and truly warlike appearance, forms a strong contrast to the white hair and gentle bearing of his wife. She is a better politician than most of the men. A shrewd observer of public men, and in judgment is seldom at fault. The conclusions she draws from her own observations, as they relate to public men and affairs, are very sound. If I was President of the United States, Mrs. Logan should be Secretary of State, if it broke up the entire cabinet. It is her intention to return to Chicago next week, where she will remain until the regular session.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN A. LOGAN, OF ILLINOIS, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JULY 12, 1867, ON THE SUPPLEMENTARY RECONSTRUCTION BILL, AND IN REPLY TO MR. ROBINSON, OF NEW YORK.

Mr. Speaker.—It was not my intention to have taken any part in this debate, but I cannot get my own consent to sit and listen quietly any longer to such extraordinary speeches as have again and again been pronounced on this floor within the last few days. If the wisdom of a policy of excluding the South from a representation in this hall has ever cost me a doubt, it could never again cost me another. More earnest advocates of their political theories and more eloquent apologists for their darkest crimes, traitors have not in the South or elsewhere than they have here. A resolution blotting out the Constitutions of the United States and the respective States is recommended by one gentleman, who evidently means thereby to intimate that, in his opinion at least, this House has already destroyed everything like fundamental law in the land, and trampled ruthlessly in the dust the liberties of the people.

Mr. Eldridge—That is what I thought and what I meant.

Mr. Logan—I so understood the gentleman, and the thought occurred to me at the time, sir, that it was strange indeed, passing strange, that the gentleman did not discover during those four years of blood and carnage through which the true friends of humanity, liberty, the Constitution and the Union had to pass to deliver them from impending destruction, who it was assailing them then.

Mr. Eldridge—Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Logan—I decline. Why did it not occur to the gentleman when mighty armies of brave men commanded by skillful generals, were hovering in a menacing attitude around this devoted city, spurning our country's flag, mocking our patriotic professions, insulting loyal citizens, ignoring private rights and perpetrating public outrages, that the Constitution, the Union and liberty were in danger then? Why does the gentleman wait till the war is over, the Constitution is no longer in peril, and those who stood fast and firm near it and by it when its banner was streaming on the breeze of battle, are attempting to devise the most practicable and politic means to restore at the earliest moment to this whole land, permanent and healthful tranquillity and prosperity? Why does he wait for such a moment to announce the startling discovery that our Constitution is threatened, and liberty is in peril?

Mr. Eldridge—Does the gentleman desire me to answer this question?

Mr. Logan—No, sir; one interruption encouraged, invites another. Is it not strange, I repeat, that the same gentlemen who are so easily alarmed now about the perils that compass about the Constitution of the country and the liberties of the people, while peace is benignly smiling upon us, saw no terror or threat in the glitter of bayonets or the frown of batteries when our beloved land was swarming with millions of open enemies, and the earth was trembling under the martial tread of serried hosts and the loud roar of angry artillery? Then when there was war, was no peace, they could raise the cry of "peace, peace," and when peace at last has come, they aver it has not come, but that we are still in the midst of a bloody war, a war upon the Constitution we fought to save, a war upon the liberties we bled to preserve. "Treat your Southern brethren kindly, win them by affection," is the cry of the Democracy. "Rather," said one of them, "that Jeff. Davis and his coadjutors had succeeded than that the President of the United States should be impeached." Such language is worthy only of a representative of South Carolina, or some other rebel whose hands are red with loyal blood. No won-

der that in a party boasting of such types of patriotism, there should be many, very many, enthusiastic followers, who saw nothing reprehensible in the conduct of the open, avowed, defiant and belligerent enemies of the Republic, but who do find much to deplore and denounce in the adhesion now to principle of those who stood like a wall of adamant around our flag when the mad waves of secession threatened to deluge with blood the eternal rock upon which our fathers and their fathers had planted it. Our dead, I suppose, are to sleep in forgotten graves, while the rebel slain must be apotheosized, and we who fought with and survive the brave boys in blue.

“Who, fighting fell, and falling fought,” are to be stigmatized with opprobrious epithets, while the traitors who thirsted for our blood are to be meekly and sweetly called “our brethren.”

Mr. Mungen—I rise to a question of order. My point of order is that the gentleman is not discussing the bill before the House as the rules require him to do.

The Speaker—The Chair has not seen that the gentleman from Illinois has wandered at all from the legitimate limits of debate. He is debating the question of reconstruction. If, however, the gentleman can point to any specific remarks which have been in violation of the rules the Chair will pass upon them.

Mr. Mungen—The gentleman has not alluded at all to the question of reconstruction.

The Speaker—The Chair will state to the gentleman from Ohio that this question of reconstruction grows out of the war in which the country has recently been engaged, and the gentleman from Illinois, in the commencement of his speech, is laying a foundation for the discussion of the question by a reference to the commencement of the war and the circumstances surrounding it.

Mr. Logan—What I am anxious to learn, Mr. Speaker, is upon what foundation rests this flippant and gratuitous charge repeatedly made against the Republican party on this floor to the effect that we are trampling liberty under foot, and destroying the rights and privileges of a portion of the American people? Wherein have we violated the Constitution? Was it in crushing the rebellion? I have no doubt every Copperhead in the North would say yes. We did carry the emblem of our National glory and greatness from the rivers and the lakes of the North to the bays and the gulfs of the South, where it is to-day, and will wave forever; but in doing so, we innocently thought, hoped and believed then, and still honestly think, hope and believe, that we are erecting around the Constitution and laying for liberty a deeper and a broader foundation in the gratitude, confidence and

affections of our people. We never dreamed that for every rebel we killed in the South we were to make an eternal enemy in the North; and we do not think it amounts to a riddle beyond the comprehension of mortal wits how it is that very many of the brave men who fought us, and whom we had to literally overwhelm before we could conquer, yet now that they are conquered are much more ready to ask forgiveness and forget the past and be friends, as we all ought to be again, than are their allies, who, however deep their sympathies with them may have been while the war was raging, took special pains to let the danger pass before they gave it an airing. God forbid that the day shall ever dawn upon this Republic when the patriots whose patriotism won them crutches and wooden limbs shall have apologies and explanations to make for their public conduct to patriots, who boast of and abuse the privilege of eulogizing as their brethren the men whose sabers drank loyal blood and whose bullets shot away loyal limbs. The truth is, the great wrong that discomfited Democracy feels deepest is that the people at home neither feel nor think that there ought to be Northern rebels enough in this House to let the Southern rebels in.

The next greatest wrong that they have to complain of is that the men who had the pluck to stand by those who in the field had to fight our country's battles presumptuously aspire to make our laws. I think thus far they have vindicated their claims in the world's respect alike in the field and in the halls of legislation. What is the basis upon which they fought? Simply that rebellion was a crime. They triumphed. Now upon what basis have they legislated? Simply that rebellion was a crime, and they will triumph again. The people will never require us to fight on one principle and legislate on another, to shed our blood on the field and then come here to make apologies for it to men who wanted us whipped. I hold now, and always expect to hold, that no man has a right to cross the threshold of this House and claim a seat on this floor who did not dare during the war to openly stand by and claim the protection of the flag that floats over this Capitol. The government that is organized so loosely and administered so feebly that traitors of yesterday can be among the rulers of to-morrow can neither long survive nor long deserve to survive. And this Government can have no enemies in the South half as much to be dreaded as that whining Northern friend who would clothe with power in this Government to-morrow the man whose blade was drawn to stab the Constitution and the Union but yesterday. When the South can be loyally represented on

this floor upon the basis proposed by Congress, the problem of reconstruction will cease to vex the discussions of this hall.

The prime, sole and supreme object of the Republican party is to re-establish this Government upon a sure foundation of loyalty, against which the frothy waves of treason may fret forever in vain. We have survived one rebellion, and the sage suggestions of past experience warn us that it will be wiser to prevent another rebellion than to too confidently expect to survive it. Rebellion, secession, and reason are like all other crimes and iniquities, and will crop out in every direction upon the smallest perceivable pretext. Put forward, then, the loyal and true, and hold at a respectful and indifferent distance the disloyal and untrue, until we can see some voluntary evidence that they have finally awoke to the consciousness that they are criminals, and ought to be grateful that they have not been ignominiously branded by the judgment of a competent tribunal as such. The whole secret, however, of the wailing and gnashing of teeth that we hear among the Democracy is not because we have insisted that rebels shall be held under restraint and loyal men promoted, that our flag shall be respected at home as well as abroad, but it is simply the reason a rebel Irishman gave to a loyal Irishman, who captured him in the field. Said the Hibernian in blue to his rebel countryman: "Why, Jimmy, my boy, what are you doing on that side?" "That side, indade!" answered Jimmy; "and is this not the Dimmercratick side?" [Laughter.] The Irishman thought that the rebel side must necessarily be the Democratic side, and I guess that my friend, the gentleman from Brooklyn has a similar idea in his head yet. [Laughter.]

Mr. Robinson—Mr. Speaker, I do not attempt to answer the question which the gentleman has addressed to me, because I believe he does not wish an answer. If he does, I should be glad to give it.

The Speaker—Does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Logan] yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Robinson] for a reply?

Mr. Logan—I do not think that I have said anything that he can answer. [Laughter.]

Mr. Robinson—If the gentleman wishes me to answer, I am ready to do so.

The Speaker—The gentleman declines, as the Chair understands, to be interrupted.

Mr. Logan—Now, Mr. Speaker, let us examine a little farther into this question. I perhaps may not have stated all the reasons which actuated these gentlemen in denouncing this side of the House, and thereby denouncing every loyal man in the country—every man

who has shown his loyalty by his efforts to restore this government on a proper basis. The recent rebellion, while it was in progress, was led by men who belonged to the same party to which the gentleman from Brooklyn now belongs, and the same party to which I belonged until I became so thoroughly ashamed of it that I left it, and it is not a little remarkable that the same disloyal stench which drove me out seems to have attracted my friend from Brooklyn into it. [Laughter.]

The reason why these gentlemen desire to-day to bring into disrepute the action of members of this House is because their action is calculated to prevent a portion of the people of the southern country who are in full sympathy with them, from voting and holding office. Who are they? Outspoken rebels who rose in arms against the Government, and the men who conspired to destroy this glorious Republic. Because these men are disfranchised and prevented from exercising the rights of American citizens, gentlemen on the other side object to our proposed plan of reconstruction. Sir, they would have the Southern States reconstructed according to the plan of Andrew Johnson, the gentleman who is so immaculate that if we should attempt to impeach him, it will, according to the gentleman from Brooklyn, amount to a national calamity. What was the plan of Andrew Jonson? Why, sir, that plan proposed to declare that those States that had engaged in rebellion had never lost any of their rights in the government; that neither they nor the citizens had forfeited any of their privileges under the Constitution of the United States. In other words, that treason was not a crime; that rebels were patriots. It proposed to invite the rebels to hold elections and send to this hall *per se* secessionists and traitors. In short, to construct a new party in reconstructing the government in which the secession rebels of the South might unite with the copperhead rebels of the North, capture the citadel of power here, make treason honorable and loyalty odious. There is nothing that to regain its lost power the Democratic party would not willingly do. If it could acquire more power to-morrow by crushing under its iron heel the South than it could by succoring it, it would hurl at its Northern brethren thick and fast

Curses of hate and kisses of scorn.

Their history well establishes the fact that—

Their friendship is a lurking snare,
 Their honor but an idle breath,
 Their smile the smile that traitors wear,
 Their love is hate, their life is death,

Their sympathy with Andrew Johnson's plan of reconstruction, and their hostility to the Republican plan of reconstruction, is not attributable to the merits or demerits of either plan as a policy for the country, but solely as a party policy.

Now, sir, I maintain that the only true plan upon which these Southern States ought to have been reconstructed is by virtue of an organization of military governments, and the principal objection to which I find the bill now pending before this House obnoxious, albeit I shall vote for it, is that it fails to state sufficiently explicitly that the governments of these States were entirely overthrown and destroyed by the treason and rebellion of the people, and that no legal or civil governments have existed there since. I would recognize Governors or other officers pretending to act there now in an official capacity, but would remove them instantly. I would insist that when the fiery billows of war rolled over the South, that they bore away into the broad ocean of chaos their laws and constitutions as the floods of their own mighty father of waters sweep the drift wood they gather into the Mexican Gulf; and that according to the laws of war they were subject only to military rule at the hands of their conquerors, and so ought to remain until traitors shall learn how to blush for their crimes, and modestly decline office, instead of attempting as they now do daily, to thrust themselves forward to grasp the reins of a government that they hate in their hearts. I would put the rebels on probation and make their return to power depend up the merits of their penitence.

But let us return to the gentleman's grave charges of outrages and wrongs supposed to have been committed by this Congress. To be charitable, we will have to give the gentleman and his party credit for a memory as full of treachery as their Southern brethren were of treason. They seem to have forgotten everything they ought to remember, and remember some things they certainly ought not only to forget themselves, but want everybody else to forget. They seem to have forgotten the scenes and events that mark the historical epoch through which we have so recently passed, and then seem to have totally forgotten that these pet Southern brethren of theirs, when they did occupy seats on this floor, gave us practical illustrations of dignity in debate that made this hall a "bear garden," and much more attractive to lovers of gladiatorial sports and patrons of the "fancy" than they could have been to the wise, prudent, sedate and good citizen; when bowie-knives bristled from their breasts, revolvers filled all their pockets, and clubs were substituted among them for canes; when they spoke to a Northern legislator in these halls with a scowl

on their brows, threats on their lips and fingers on triggers. It is true, we have blotted out for them eternally and forever the charming institution under the peculiar influences of which they imbibed these dogmatical and insolent airs; but if, when it was in full blast, they could not remember that the style of manners that might do to drive a gang of slaves would not answer to persuade a Congressional peer, it is not at all probable that time enough has yet elapsed for the fact to appear in their manners, that they fully and properly realize the fact in all of its moral and political sublimity, that they are not somebody's master, and yet may again subject us to their old style of argument so peculiarly Southern.

They seem to have forgotten the price the peace we enjoy to-day has cost this Nation, and the crimson currency in which it was paid; the broken hearts with which it filled bruised and troubled bosoms at home; the mangled bodies with which it filled hospitals everywhere, and the lifeless forms of manly beauty with which it filled hundreds of thousands of nameless graves on the far-off battle-plaints of the South. They seem to have forgotten the bitter scalding tears that rolled like floods of lava down the fair faces of the loyal mothers, wives and sisters of this land when the names ineffably dear to them were found announced in the long lists of the killed that were published as a sequel to the first flash of the lightning that reported a battle had been fought; and I dare say they have forgotten that there ever was such a prison as Andersonville, and the long, long catalogue of horrors that brave men had to suffer there for being true to themselves, their constitution, their flag, their homes, families, and country. Well for such gentleman would it be if they could occasionally meet, as they wander over this broad country, a few of the many wan specters of suffering and woe who were captured by the saintly southern brethren of northern Democrats on fields of strife, thrust into prisons unfit for dogs, and starved till a hale constitution was a wreck, and then left to suffer the worst penalties of privation incident to weather and climate. I could give my friend from Brooklyn illustrations of individual suffering at Andersonville that would make the hair stand on his head, the blood freeze in his veins, and curses spring involuntarily from his lips. I remember one poor boy from my immediate vicinity, especially. His name is Dougherty. He went into Andersonville prison without a scar upon his young body or a cloud on his fair brow, but under the humanitarianism of Southern chivalry he came out without a foot to walk on. They were literally frozen off in prison.

There are thousands of such instances that might be paraded if I

had the time or inclination to do it, to justify the stern, uncompromising disinclination I feel to call, by the gentle term of brother, these rebels of the South. When I find in their conduct conclusive proof of contrition, and find them openly opposed to becoming the instruments and tools of Northern Democrats, who, while the war was raging, accepted the protection of the Stars and Stripes, and now have the graceless effrontery to brag that they were false to it, may and probably will then be glad to welcome them back to the Union. But when I do that, I wish to be able to go home and face the widows and orphans that swarm the broad prairies of the West, whose weeds of mourning meet us there on the highways and the byways, and answer any reasonable question they may have to ask. I recognize the responsibility of a Representative here to his constituency, and I feel that a woman or child who cannot vote may have as sacred a right to ask me a question as a man who can, and I am simply anxious to prepare myself to meet all such comers. In the silent vigils of the noiseless night, many a time and oft have I fancied I could hear, coming on the soft whispering breezes of the South, from the lowly pillows of loyal soldiers sleeping sweetly where they fell gallantly, the affectionate message: "Be of good cheer; stand fast and firm at duty's sacred post. It was standing there we lost the crown of life to win a crown of glory, and we appeal to you now, from our bright home here in Heaven, to save our offspring from the dire necessity of having to perish as we perished to save from destruction the altars and temples of liberty." And how are we to do this? Flattering rebels, tolerating treason, and petting political profligates? I do not recognize the right of rebel States to insist that no issue not made with them during the war can be legitimately considered now. If they established a nationality and had been recognized and treated with by the nations of the earth, then such a proposition might per possibility have had some claims to consideration, but otherwise certainly not.

The position I wish to assume so distinctly that it will and cannot be misunderstood, is simply this: That treason is a crime; that traitors are criminals; that the law is supreme; that when it is violated expiation must follow; and I hold that mercy to the wicked is cruelty to the just. Here is presented an issue, I admit, with the President. He does not proceed upon the proposition that treason is a crime; that rebels are criminals, and that legal penalties are enforceable. He is so eagerly anxious to forgive that he seems to forget that no forgiveness has ever been proposed yet save as a sequel to penitence. Having failed utterly to establish anything resembling a nationality, the

Southern States can properly claim the protection of no laws international upon that subject. My consent can never be commanded to ignore the claims that I feel that the gallant dead who fell fighting under our flag have upon my devotion to their fame while I live. Let the poet's tribute to the soldier's memory be eternally illustrated in the practical gratitude of the American people when he said:

On fame's eternal camping-ground,
Their silent tents are spread,
While glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

And how others feel I cannot tell; but I am free to confess that I feel it is the memory of those who fought and fell under our flag, who charged rebel batteries, carried rebel heights, vanquished rebel legions, and finally crushed the rebellion, that has a claim upon our respect, care and veneration, far above office seekers and political partisans.

The gentleman from New York says that he and his friends are bound to have the next President, and that we are bound to impeach him. We have not yet impeached any President, and if in the past we would not, it is hardly presumable that in the future we will.

A member—You would if you could.

Mr. Logan—I shall not say what I would do, but until the wishes of the people command here a proper respect, I do not think the gentleman need to feel any very serious alarm about what we will do.

The gentleman has nominated General Grant for the presidency, and if General Grant has any enemies I dare say the gentleman's nomination must have made them profoundly happy. General Grant rarely has anything to say, and when he does speak it is generally directly to the point, and from that fact the inference is fair that he will be found more than equal to any occasion that may call on him to take care of the true interests of his fame and fortunes, whenever and wherever they may be directly or indirectly threatened. But were I General Grant and really aspiring to the presidency, I would give the gentleman notice that if he wanted an office from me, his claims to consideration would depend upon not how much, but how little he had to say in my behalf. [Laughter.] Presidents rarely owe their success to their enemies. General Grant may learn a wholesome lesson from the South about the consequences of falling into bad company hunting for friends.

General Grant is certainly a great and good man. He deserves and enjoys the affection and confidence of this Nation. His personal popularity is universal. His military fame has spread

From earth's remotest bounds to ocean's loneliest shore.

It rests upon the adamantine pedestal of success and rises above mortal criticism, and if it can survive to admiration and friendship of home-bound sympathizers with the precious Southern brethren, at whose ignominious expense he won his laurels, then, indeed, may his true and real friends rejoice in the conclusion that it is beyond a lingering shadow of doubt more than indestructible. Paradoxes do not amount to phenomenas; but, nevertheless, they rarely pass away unnoticed, and the paradoxical proposition of finding in the self-same member of this House the friend alike of General Grant and Jeff Davis cannot do so. It is, at least, worth a passing comment. There is not one single passing shadow of resemblance between the histories, achievements, principles, sentiments, or purposes of the arch-traitor and the loyal general. The one is small, in all things small; the other is great in virtues and talents that rank greatest. The name of the one will go down to posterity a by-word of scorn and reproach, while the name of the other will live to be given at the baptismal font to thousands of infant patriots yet to be born; and to me it is a riddle utterly incomprehensible that one and the same man can be, at one and the same time, alike the friend of Jeff, the traitor, and Grant, the patriot.

Mr. Eldridge—How about Horace Greeley?

Mr. Logan—Greeley, indeed! That he is Jeff's friend you may prove, but where is the evidence he is Grant's?

I trust that the apparent egotism of an illusion now that is somewhat necessary to myself will be pardoned. I am branded by political and sectional partisans with such epithets as "bloodthirsty," "unforgiving," "unrelenting," etc., etc. How this has been ascertained is inexplicable to me.

Who has sought my forgiveness that I have refused to give? Forgiveness is taught in the Lord's prayer, but we are not therein instructed to thrust forgiveness upon the unrepentant and the defiant. Forgiveness is not so cheap a virtue that it may be prodigally wasted unasked upon the idle and indifferent. The forgiveness that anticipates repentance will multiply crimes faster than it will reform criminals. When the rebels of the South begin properly to repent and find moral courage enough to make before the world a manly acknowledgment of it, then, and not until then, will I take into question their forgiveness at all. I have no premium to offer in the shape of forgiveness to the insolence of an obstinacy that deigns not to ask for that forgiveness. I would open a gulf between treason and loyalty, wide enough to make the dwellers on its opposite shores

strangers, and deep enough to swallow legions in arms. I would fill it with waves of fire through which no unrepenting living thing could swim, and over which no soaring philanthropy could fly and survive. Sickly sentimentalism is a great crime-breeder. Immunity for one crime provokes the perpetration of many. Men are but grown-up children, and when you spare the rod you will spoil the child, whether the child be a young child or an old child. I am not one of those who would hesitate to try, convict, condemn and execute a traitor for treason.

Mr. Niblack — Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. Logan — Yes, if it is not a very long one.

Mr. Niblack — I would ask the gentleman whether in the summer of 1861, after the war broke out, he did not vote as a member of this House against the expulsion of General John B. Clarke, of Missouri, who had joined the rebellion?

Mr. Logan — The Journals of this House show all my votes, and the gentleman might have found all the information I can give him there. I am not in the habit of voting in this House to make unsupported rumors history. A charge may have been filed here against General Clarke, and when the testimony to sustain it was adduced it may have utterly failed, as in his case, according to my recollection, it did. The disposition, however, to make a verdict thus conscientiously rendered by me in defense of an absent and unconvicted member of their own party, redound now to my prejudice, furnishes another beautiful illustration of Democratic magnanimity and justice. When I cast that vote I voted with the Democratic party; now it is thrown into my teeth by a member of that party as a reproach. It may have been a reckless thing in me then to doubt the natural strong probability that a Democrat was a rebel, and for it, perhaps, I deserve to be publicly twitted and sharply rebuked; but I will endeavor to see to it for the future that I shall merit never such another just reprimand for such a graceless reason from such an ungrateful source. [Laughter.]

The unrelenting war waged against me by the Democracy is liable to be misunderstood if looked at superficially. It is not because, as has been suspected by some, I was a Democrat and am one no longer. Dying out, as it has been for the last eight years, with the dry rot, that party has become too much accustomed to see men of sense withdraw their allegiance from it to make my instance a source of serious irritation. The true reason, which explains the malevolence with which they pursue me, will be found in the fact

that while the recent war was raging the honorable distinction was awarded to me of having put to the sword my full share of their party, who fell fighting in front of my command, under the spotted flag of treason, to support their sentiments and principles. [Loud applause from the floor of the House.]

My attention having been especially called to Horace Greeley, I am free to say that I totally disapprove of his sympathy for Jeff and his peculiar manner of manifesting that sympathy. Had I captured Jefferson Davis and his disposal been committed to my hands, I would have organized an able court-martial and have given him a fair trial, a just sentence and prompt execution.

Some people are morbidly sensitive about Jeff Davis. They seem to think that when the name of Cassius honors corruption, chastisement ought forever to hide its head. They belong to that sickly class of temporizers who would make the enormity of the crime and the rank of the criminal good pleas in bar against their conviction. If Jefferson Davis and his cabinet are criminals, as they are, they ought to be tried and convicted; if convicted, executed like all other felons convicted of capital crimes. If they were tried and convicted, as they ought to be, and were I chief magistrate of this republic, no appeal for clemency in their cases should ever reach me. I would let him and them swing until they would pass the point of plotting treason, and smaller traitors might profit by the example of their ignominious fate. Until a traitor or two is tried, convicted and executed, the people of the United States can confidently expect an annual crop of armed traitors to spring from the tenderness with which traitors are treated in this land. So mild has been our mercy that Toombs, the fugitive of yesterday, is back again the swaggerer of to-day. Emboldened by impunity, he grows defiant, and seems determined to test the measure of his importance in a last desperate effort to draw toward him the attention of the Government, and down upon his crimes the vengeance of the law.

But what has he to fear in a government where rebels are pardoned before they are tried, and where no traitor has ever graced the gallows? John Brown was tried, convicted and executed; but that was for treason, not against our national government, but the State of Virginia. When a Northern man trespasses upon Southern soil and commits treason he has the crime to expiate on the scaffold, but when thousands of Southern men attempt to destroy our National government, notwithstanding the diabolical attempts, drenches our whole land with blood and fills it with the piercing wails of widows and orphans and costs thousands of millions of treasure, neverthe-

less, nobody can be tried for it. John Brown did not dip deep enough into treason to make it respectable. Had he managed to kill fifty thousand men before they captured him, according to the new theory, he would have stood on too lofty a pedestal to have been taken down criminally. But for the life of me I cannot see how the same government that assisted Virginia to convict John Brown can refuse to try Jeff. Davis. If John Brown was held responsible for an outraged law, why is not likewise Jefferson Davis? John Brown's surviving kindred can take to their souls one flattering unction at least, to-wit, that he did not die in vain. I have again and again seen thousands of Union soldiers marching into the battle singing:

John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
While his soul goes marching on,

and they never failed to win the fight. There is one man on this continent at the head of a government that has exhibited nerve enough to rule. When usurpers and traitors are captured and convicted in Mexico, we hear at one and the same time of their stern sentence and prompt execution. President Jaurez, however, is saluted for his signal exhibition and firmness with howls of horror from the same mercy begging lips that are eternally whining about the mercy due to Jeff. Why do men professing to love liberty manifest an interest so deep and strange in the fate of a vaulting ambition and royalty when it presumes to invade this Republican continent and overleap itself? Have monarchical governments friends whose pathies are too keen to be restrained when tribulation overtakes the toppling throne, and do they propose to educate the popular mind of men born on free American soil to catch readily at excuses to denounce republicanism, or condole with the mourning nobility over executed emperors? I deplore, Mr. Speaker, such exhibitions of party violence as have again and again recently been exhibited on this floor. It serves to remind me of the mournful debates we had on this floor just before the war. Rebels then used very much such language as their friends employ here now. But it is to be deprecated for better and higher reasons still, and one of them is, the consequences which legitimately flow from it to the South.

If the Democracy of the North had not taken the South under its wing, those States might and probably would have been in the Union to-day. Well may the South exclaim, "Save us from our friends." I trust, Mr. Speaker, that we will pass such a bill as may be understood, properly considered, and energetically executed, and that when it is, that it will leave the State governments in the hands of men loyal and true and forever prevent disloyal men from employing

power and place to foment treason. It is not when they came, but how they came; that is the all-important query with me. I would be glad to welcome them back to-morrow if I were satisfied they were reorganized right, but it is my intention to vote as long as I have a vote, to keep them out until they can come in on the broad basis of loyalty to the government. And when they can do that I am willing to receive their representatives to the halls of our national Legislature, and will assist to protect them against anything anywise prejudicial to any of their legal rights or interest as States.

I have seen quite enough of carnage and private and national distress, and long to see the day come when we shall be as peaceful, prosperous, and happy as we were before that crawling serpent, secession, sought to strangle us in our national cradle. That day may soon come again when the South will rise up and sternly resolve that they will follow Naaman through the Jordan of repentance, until the leprosy of treason and Democracy shall be washed out of their political systems. How much they have been benefited by the sympathies of the Democratic party they ought by this time to appreciate and estimate. The hour they discover they possess the good sense and courage to repudiate openly and emphatically treason and embrace warmly and sincerely loyalty, they will see dawn upon them a bright morning, regeneration, and deliverance.

LOGAN FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

“The nomination of General John A. Logan for Vice-President, with James G. Blaine as the candidate for President, has made the Republican ticket of this year one of the strongest the party has ever presented. The selection has given the second place the dignity and importance with which it was regarded in the early days of the Republic. The original practice was that the candidate who received the second highest number of electoral votes was elected Vice-President; and during a long term of years the people were in the habit of taking up the Vice-President who had filled the position acceptably and electing him President. Of late years the second place on the Presidential tickets of both parties has been awarded,

on the ground of locality or to conciliate some faction, to a comparatively obscure person who would not have been considered for the first place. The nomination of General Logan is a notable departure from the latter practice and a return to the earlier and better usages. General Logan was a conspicuous candidate for the first place, and would undoubtedly have developed great strength if he had been nominated for President. He is a commanding figure in public life. The people will feel an abiding confidence that in case a vacancy in the Chief Magistracy shall occur during Blaine's administration the office will be administered with ability, and in much the same spirit in which Blaine will superintend the affairs of the nation. That should always be the first consideration in the selection of a candidate for Vice-President. Aside from this, General Logan will bring a tremendous personal strength to the campaign. No man who served in the Union army is more popular than he is with the old soldiers. He came out of the war with the reputation of the best volunteer general who served in it. He stands especially high with the Grand Army of the Republic. His personal valor, aside from his martial abilities, has commanded the enthusiastic admiration of the soldier element, and his steadfast zeal in behalf of the veterans upon every other occasion, as well as his manly and consistent attitude in regard to Fitz John Porter's case, insure a special effort among the Union soldiers for his election.

Logan's other qualifications are that he is a representative of the Stalwart faction of the party which opposed Mr. Blaine's candidacy in 1880; and he is a typical Western man—a native of Illinois—who will bring out an enormous vote in all the Western States. The unanimity with which the nomination was conferred upon him, including the great States of New York and Pennsylvania, must be peculiarly gratifying to him, and is a striking evidence of his strength."



Chester A. Arthur.

CHAPTER XXX.

CHESTER ALLAN ARTHUR.

CHESTER ALLAN ARTHUR, the President of the United States, whose term of office expires March 4, 1885, is a son of a Baptist clergyman, Rev. Wm. Arthur, D.D., who came to this country from Ballymena, Ireland.

Chester was prepared for college by his father, whose classical attainments were of a high order, and the character for decision and strong power of self-will as exhibited by the son, show plainly the source of inheritance. Chester was born at Fairfield, Vermont, on the 5th of October, 1830, at which time his father was in charge of a small congregation at that place, and at Greenwich (then Union Village), in Washington county, New York, young Arthur's preparation began which received polish at a grammar school in the then pleasant little village of Schenectady.

The Hon. James I. Laurie, in "Headley's Life of Arthur," says, in a letter to Hon. D. R. Anthony:

Another scholar of those days, though only about twelve years of age, was Chester A. Arthur. His eyes were dark and brilliant, and his physical system finely formed. He was frank and open in manners, and genial in disposition. Even at that early age he was a favorite with all who knew him. He was full of life and animation. His active abilities, his courage, and his strength of will, made him a leader among his companions. One of his sisters, an excellent and beautiful girl, died here at the old Baptist parsonage, where the Reverend-doctor Arthur resided. He afterward graduated at Union College, and settled in the city of New York, and distinguished himself as a leading and reliable statesman. A few years ago while he was Collector of the Port of New York, he came here to visit his old home. He was exceedingly interested in all the familiar places in and around the village, and especially in the parsonage. He went through every room, from the cellar to the roof, of the old, time-

worn building. He met his early friends with great cordiality. There is no more genial, reliable, noble-hearted man in the State of New York than Chester A. Arthur.

He graduated at the age of eighteen, having become very popular with his fellow students. After graduation he attended a law school at Ballston Springs for several months, then returned to Lansingburg, where his father resided, and studied law. When twenty-one years of age he obtained a situation as principal of an academy at North Pownel, Vermont, and prepared boys for college. Mr. Arthur, having been admitted to the bar, determined to commence the practice of his chosen profession. He went to New York and entered into partnership with Judge E. D. Culver, whom he had known when the latter was member of Congress from Washington County. The firm from the first enjoyed a lucrative practice. Mr. Arthur's anti-slavery sentiments and his legal knowledge were both displayed in the celebrated Lemon slave case, in which was settled the principle that slaves became free when brought into the State of New York by their masters. The decision caused great excitement at the South, the Governor of Georgia declaring that it was a just cause for war. In 1856 Mr. Arthur took an active part in politics in the city of New York, having been a delegate to the Saratoga Republican Convention previous to that date. Governor Morgan appointed him Engineer-in-Chief on his staff. Mr. Arthur acquired some military knowledge while Judge Advocate General of the second brigade of the New York State militia. When the war broke out Mr. Arthur was selected to establish in New York city the branch Quartermaster's Department, and to take charge of the same. Mr. Arthur displayed great energy and executive ability while fulfilling the duties of this appointment. He was deprived of this office by General Seymour in 1860, but when General Grant ran for President Mr. Arthur became president of the Central Grant Club

of New York, and chairman of the executive committee of the Republican State Committee. He was appointed by President Grant, Collector of the port of New York in 1871. In 1878, having been succeeded by General E. A. Merritt, he returned to the practice of his profession. In 1879 he was chosen chairman of the Republican State Convention, and in June, 1880, was nominated for Vice-President at Chicago, and in November elected. Upon the death of Garfield, on the night of the nineteenth of September, 1881, Mr. Arthur took the oath of office as President. His course and action since he became President is a part of our present political history. It is sufficient to say that the office is honestly and creditably administered, and as Chief Magistrate of the great nation Mr. Arthur bears himself with great dignity and firmness and gives no occasion for political discontent. He was candidate for re-nomination before the great Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1884.

SPEECH OF MARTIN I. TOWNSEND, NOMINATING
CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Mr. Townsend said: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: America is proud of her great men; the Republican party is proud of her great men, and the great men of America are in the Republican party. It has warmed the cockles of my heart to hear the eulogiums pronounced here to-night. I abate not a whit from the speakers who have uttered the eloquent eulogiums in my admiration of those men. I come here to say amen and thrice amen to all achievements of the Republican party, including the glorious history of the gentlemen whose names have been presented here. I come here, however, to talk about the well-being of the Republican party in the future, and I say to the gentlemen of this convention that, however joyous our evening interview may be here, there is a very grave responsibility resting upon us that has got

to be borne and decided by cool and deliberate judgment. The question is, How shall we put ourselves before the American people in a shape to secure their suffrages at the November election? and it is a serious question. In France, when the National Assemblies from 1790 to 1880 were assembled, a demonstration from the surrounding mobs in Paris, and assent by the National Assemblies, settled the question; but we may exert influence upon this body, we may obtain the assent of the body, and yet our work is not done. We have got to go down to the constituencies that sent us here; we have got to shape our action so that it shall commend itself to the men that go to the churches; the clergymen, the Elders, and the Deacons, and the members, and the citizens that attend the churches—all that fear God and love the Republic have got to canvass our action and pass in judgment upon what we have done. Now, how shall we meet the views of these people? I come to speak to you in carrying out what I believe is most likely to gain the favor of the electors of this country—the Republican electors. I have to speak of an individual.

I speak of General Chester A. Arthur, of the State of New York. I shall not dwell on the early history of Chester A. Arthur; I shall content myself with saying that his veins are filled with blood that derives its richness from the Campbells of Argyle and from the North of Ireland, the sturdiest stock in the universe. He passed the typical life of the American boy; without money he had to make up by merit for what he lacked of the filthy lucre. Four years ago he was taken up by the National Assembly that met here and nominated for the office of Vice-President of the United States. He was elected upon the same ticket with the sainted Garfield, a man whom I loved. I knew him way back in 1856, when a boy struggling in college, in my own college in Williamstown, in dear old Massachusetts, where my early boyhood days were passed, and I met him in the National Congress; four long years

I sat by his side, and I felt that when the National Convention had nominated Garfield they had done themselves honor, they had done the country the greatest favor that it was possible in that day and under the then circumstances for them to confer upon it. In the providence of God—a mournful, and melancholy, and never-to-be-forgotten providence—Mr. Garfield was removed from the field of action and Mr. Arthur was called to the difficult and almost disheartening duty of taking his position as the Chief Executive officer of this Union; and from that day his work has been constant, forward, unswerving, kind, faithful, considerate to all, and with charity for all and malice against none he has discharged his duties [applause], until, within a year, every Republican convention in this Union has passed a resolution of unqualified commendation upon this man and his conduct in the Presidential office. [Applause.] Shall I say that I need not utter commendation? What have you said to-day? “In the Administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.” [Applause.] This is to go down to the fireside of every constituent of this assembly—I mean of this Republican assembly—and they will hold you, my friends of this convention, they will hold you to what you have said on this occasion.

We have a big constituency; we have greater difficulties than our Democratic friends. When our Democratic friends declare their principles they get their friends to believe that they are in earnest and that they achieve a triumph. Nothing makes them so happy, nothing makes their constituents so proud of them, as to have them turn tail and profess that they never meant what they said. Our people hold no such doctrine. What will they say to us if we say we are not in earnest about this thing? Some

ten years ago a large portion of our citizens came to feel that the mode of distributing inferior and clerical offices throughout the country was injurious to public morality, and would in the end be subversive of the best interests of the people. They started then what is called the agitation for civil service reform. A great many hesitated, a great many believed it was not necessary; but by and by the persistency of the earnest men that favored this motion, the earnest men who determined that the reform of the civil service upon the principles that they indicated must and should be accomplished and preserved, had its effect until now for more than eight years no National, no State Convention has ever been organized without passing a resolution in favor of civil service reform. We passed laws, we have appointed commissioners, the commissioners have gone into action, and through the administration of Mr. Garfield all the principles of the civil service reformers—and that included the whole Republican party—have been put in practice. It is not that I say so. The Commissioners themselves, in their report to the National Congress, declared that Mr. Arthur, in every respect, has carried out the laws and aided them to the extent of his power.

Another thing has happened under this Administration. It may be said that I hold an office. I do—for which I am indebted to the late President, Rutherford B. Hayes, a most excellent gentleman, who did honor to the country in the office. I am here to speak for the man who is now President; but the day has arrived when a man can safely come to oppose the head of the National Administration. There sits my friend Judge Robertson, of the city of New York, the Collector of the port of New York, coming here like an honest man, and a brave-hearted man, to carry out his views directly in opposition to the President. He fears no disturbance.

I am bound to say another thing. I would hate myself

forever if I did not say it. Much has been said about New York State politics; much has been said about the New York machine, with Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt turning the crank of the machine. I have, sir, to prove that Mr. Arthur has not prostituted his office to the purposes of faction, but to point to the fact that Roscoe Conkling has given his whole influence against Mr. Arthur, and that Mr. Thomas C. Platt, the man that resigned his office, and the man that could not sit in Garfield's Administration because Mr. Blaine was so wicked as to persuade Mr. Garfield to nominate Mr. Robertson for Collector of the port of New York, is also opposed to Mr. Arthur.

I am an old man, but I am one of those men that for fifty years, in speaking of politics, have uttered just the sentiment that I felt and believed. My work is almost done, but if it be the last act of my life I want to call the attention of this convention to the exhibition that we have had here to-night as an evidence that the executive chamber, if it ever was otherwise, is not now the caucus-room of faction.

Now, the people, when we go down to our homes, will say: "What means this? Mr. Arthur has had everybody's commendation. The politicians met at Chicago, and were compelled by the force of public opinion, by what we thought, to give this unqualified commendation for the administration of Chester A. Arthur, and yet he was not renominated." Mr. President, when you took the chair, in speaking of the great and glorious men whose names had come before this convention for consideration, you said that this Chester A. Arthur had justly won the commendation, "Well done, good and faithful servant." Sir, you quoted from a book. But what is said in that book should be done with the good and faithful servant? Turn him out into the brush-pasture to starve? That is not the doctrine of that book. The good and faithful servant is everywhere promised his reward. That is a wonderfully

good book; and for a digression let me say to the young gentlemen not members of the convention who cried so loudly for my friend Ingersoll last night that there is a great deal of most instructive and interesting reading in that book if they shall have the grace to attend to it.

I have stated the people are full of scrutiny. There is more, sir. We are to meet an intelligent, a tireless enemy. The Democratic party are watching for a break in our armor. They have their lances at rest. They have their spears pointed, and whenever we lay open our armor they are ready to pierce the Republican party to the heart. What will they say: "Oh, here! Oh, here! What a nice party you are! You have been prating ten years about the reform of the civil service; you have been prating ten years about having a non-factional administration. You found one, as you say yourselves, and yet for the purpose of picking up somebody else you have struck down and cast into oblivion, as far as you had the power to do it, the very man that has done the work that you set him to do, after spending ten years in preparing for his hand." I said the Democrats could do anything. They had their friend of civil-service reform. They had their Mr. Pendleton in Ohio. They claqued him loudly; they patted him on the back when he made his speeches for civil-service reform, but when he came down to Ohio for renomination to be returned to the Senate, they whistled him down the wind. Said they: It will strengthen the party, but it will not strengthen us. Our constituents will look unto us. In the days of James II. he got into difficulty with the bishops. He imprisoned all the leading bishops in England. Among them was Trelawney, from Cornwall, Bishop of Bristol. The Cornishmen were very much excited because their friend was in jail, and a distich was sent out, the burden of which was this:

And shall Trelawney die?
And shall Trelawney die?

Then thirty thousand Cornishmen
Will know the reason why.

And in this case strike down Mr. Arthur and not thirty thousand Republicans, but thirty times thirty thousand will know the reason why.

Now, my friends, I have presented substantially the considerations which govern me in proposing the action which I intend to follow. We have in every case since the Republican party has been formed done one of two things: We have, when our President has finished his term, renominated him, except in the case of Mr. Hayes, who refused a renomination, and given him a second term. We refused to give General Grant, much as we regarded him, a third term. These are traditions of the party, the common understanding, and in order to show that I take the common understanding of the party I have to but quote a letter from a most distinguished statesman in the north-eastern portion of the Union, written the twentieth of December, 1880, in view of the incoming administration of Mr. Garfield, in which he says, speaking of the administration, "Not at all directing its energies for re-election, yet compelling the result by the logic of events and the imperiousness, as it is, of the situation." So said that great statesman; so has said every man; so says the community; so will say the voters; and God grant that this convention may adopt such a course as to conciliate the solid intelligence of the men of the Republican party, and that victory in November, so important to the well-being of this country, may again perch, as it has for twenty-four years, upon the Republican banner.

CHAPTER XXXI.

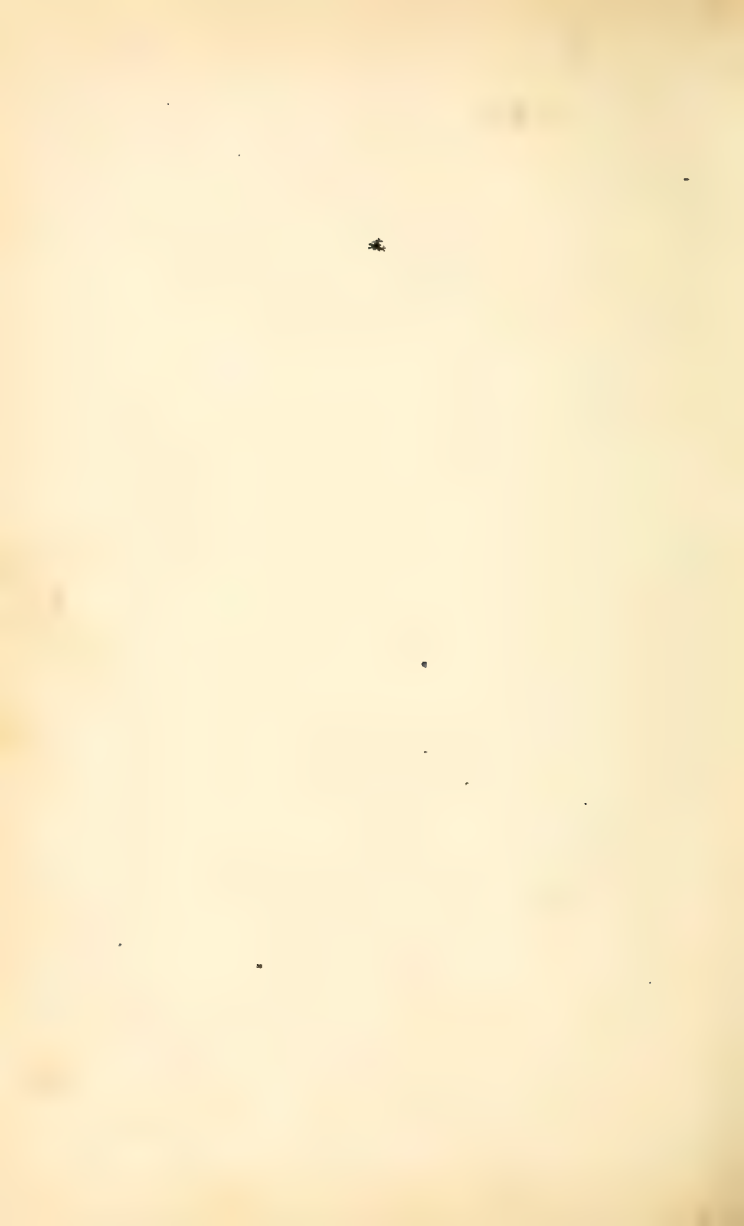
JOHN SHERMAN.

JOHN SHERMAN was born at Lancaster, Ohio, May 10, 1823; among eleven children of the family, he was the eighth son. Taylor Sherman, his grandfather, a jurist and scholar of distinguished ability, was born in Connecticut, and married Elizabeth Stoddard, a lineal descendant of Anthony Stoddard, who came to the shores of New England during the seventeenth century.

Charles Robert, son of Taylor Sherman and Elizabeth Stoddard his wife, was the father of John and General W. T. Sherman; he was born at Norwalk, Connecticut, and married Mary Hoyt, of Norwalk, in 1810, from which place he removed to Lancaster, Ohio, and died from an attack of cholera which, it is said, came upon him during the trial of a case over which he presided as Judge. John Sherman was taken by his father's cousin in 1831, to his home in Mount Vernon, Ohio, and for four years remained there at school. The family of eleven children had scattered, three remaining with their mother, and friends of the family used their influence in securing homes for the others. John returned to Lancaster when about twelve years of age, and entered the academy there in order to prepare for college; in two years he became a Sophomore, but lacked the means necessary to continue his college course, and he joined an engineer corps then engaged on the Muskingum improvement, as a rodman, and by close attention to his duties was promoted to the charge of a section of work at Beverly. He began the study of law in 1839, in the office of Charles T. Sherman, his brother, who was afterward Judge of the United States District Court, and in 1844 he entered into partnership with his brother, where for



John Sherman.



ten years he practiced law most assiduously, laying the foundation of after political honors as well as wealth. No greater tribute was ever paid an honorable man than the speech of James A. Garfield, when he nominated Mr. Sherman for President in the Republican National Convention, at Chicago, Ill., 1880. We print the speech in full :

SPEECH OF JAMES A. GARFIELD NOMINATING MR. SHERMAN FOR PRESIDENT.

“MR. PRESIDENT:—I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this convention with deep solicitude. No emotion touches my heart more quickly than a sentiment in honor of a great and noble character. But as I sat on these seats and witnessed these demonstrations, it seemed to me you were a human ocean in a tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man. But I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when sunshine bathes its smooth surface, then the astronomer and surveyor takes the level from which he measures all terrestrial heights and depths. Gentlemen of the convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of the people.

“When our enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find the calm level of public opinion, below the storm, from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which their final action will be determined. Not here, in this brilliant circle, where fifteen thousand men and women are assembled, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed ; not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of seven hundred and fifty-six delegates waiting to cast their votes into the urn and determine the choice of their party ; but by five

million Republican firesides, where the thoughtful fathers, with wives and children about them, with calm thoughts inspired by love of home and love of country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and the knowledge of the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by,—there God prepares the verdict that shall determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but in the sober quiet that comes between now and November, in the silence of deliberate judgment, will this great question be settled. Let us aid them to-night.

“But now, gentlemen of the Convention, what do we want? Bear with me a moment. Hear me for this cause, and for a moment, be silent that you may hear. Twenty-five years ago this Republic was wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with the traffic in the body and souls of men had paralyzed the consciences of a majority of our people. The baleful doctrine of State sovereignty had shocked and weakened the noblest and most beneficent powers of the National Government and the grasping power of slavery was seizing the virgin Territories of the West and dragging them into the den of eternal bondage. At that crisis the Republican party was born. It drew its first inspiration from the fire of liberty which God has lighted in every man’s heart, and which all the powers of ignorance and tyranny can never wholly extinguish. The Republican party came to deliver and save the Republic. It entered the arena when beleaguered and assailed Territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty, which the demon of slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free forever.

“Strengthened by its victory on the frontier, the young party, under the leadership of that great man who, on this spot, twenty years ago, was made its leader, entered the national capital and assumed the high duties of the gov-

ernment. The light which shone from its banner dispelled the darkness in which slavery had enshrouded the Capitol and melted the shackles of every slave, and consumed, in the fire of liberty, every slave-pen within the shadow of the Capitol. Our national industries, by an impoverishing policy, were themselves prostrated, and the streams of revenue flowed in such feeble currents that the treasury itself was well nigh empty. The money of the people was the wretched notes of 2,000 uncontrolled and irresponsible state bank corporations, which were filling the country with a circulation that poisoned rather than sustained the life of business.

“The Republican party changed all this. It abolished the babel of confusion and gave the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the people. It threw its protecting arm around our great industries, and they stood erect as with new life. It filled with the spirit of true nationality all the great functions of the government. It confronted a rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with a slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of liberty until victory was won. Then, after the storms of battle, were heard the sweet, calm words of peace uttered by the conquering nation, and saying to the conquered foe that lay prostrate at its feet, ‘This is our only revenge, that you join us in lifting to the serene firmament of the Constitution, to shine like stars forever and forever, the immortal principles of truth and justice, that all men, white or black, shall be free and stand equal before the law.’ Then came the questions of reconstruction, the public debt, and the public faith.

“In the settlement of these questions the Republican party has completed its twenty-five years of glorious existence, and it has sent us here to prepare it for another lustrum of duty and of victory. How shall we do this great work? We can not do it, my friends, by assailing our Republican brethren. God forbid that I should say

one word to cast a shadow upon any name on the roll of our heroes. This coming fight is our Thermopylæ. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are united we can withstand all the Persians that the Xerxes of Democracy can bring against us.

“Let us hold our ground this one year, for the stars in their courses fight for us in the future. The census to be taken this year will bring reinforcements and continued power. But, in order to win this victory now, we want the vote of every Republican, of every Grant Republican in America, of every Blaine man and every anti-Blaine man. The vote of every follower of every candidate is needed to make our success certain; therefore I say, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to calmly counsel together, and inquire what we shall do. [A voice: ‘Nominate Garfield.’—Great applause.]

“We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, sees all the achievements of our past history, and carries in his heart the memory of all its glorious deeds, and who, looking forward, prepares to meet the labor and the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness toward those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive branch of peace, and wishes them to return to brotherhood, on this supreme condition, that it shall be admitted, forever and for evermore, that in the war for the Union, we were right and they were wrong. On that supreme condition we meet them as brethren, and no other. We ask them to share with us the blessings and honors of this great Republic.

“Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration—the name of a man who was the comrade, and associate, and friend of nearly all those noble dead whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night; a man who began his career of public

service twenty-five years ago, whose first duty was courageously done in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when the first red drops of that bloody shower began to fall which finally swelled into the deluge of war. He bravely stood by young Kansas then, and, returning to his duty in the national legislature, through all subsequent time his pathway has been marked by labors performed in every department of legislation.

“You ask for his monuments. I point you to twenty-five years of the national statutes. Not one great beneficent statute has been placed on our statute books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He aided these men to formulate the laws that raised our great armies and carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back the unity and married calm of the States. His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in a greater work that redeemed the promises of the government, and made the currency equal to gold. And when at last, called from the halls of legislation into a high executive office, he displayed that experience, intelligence, firmness, and poise of character which has carried us through a stormy period of three years. With one half the public press crying ‘Crucify him!’ and a hostile Congress seeking to prevent his success—in all this he remained unmoved until victory crowned him.

“The great fiscal affairs of the nation and the great business interests of the country he has guarded and preserved, while executing the law of resumption and effecting its object without a jar, and against the false prophecies of one half of the press and all the Democracy of this continent. He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the government for twenty-five years. He has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of ‘that

fierce light that beats against the throne,' but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor, no stain on his shield.

“I do not present him as a better Republican, or as a better man than thousands of others we honor, but I present him for your deliberate consideration. I nominate John Sherman, of Ohio.”



George F. Edmunds.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

AT Richmond, Vermont, on the 28th of February, 1828, the subject of this sketch was born. He sprang from a hard-working family, and inherits the Quaker gentleness of his mother. His father, a strong, active old Puritan, was a man of thrift and good sense, and while George was quite young he placed him in a public school, and afterwards furnished him with a tutor at home. Young Edmunds proved an apt scholar, and soon developed a fondness for study, and easily mastered his lessons. He chose the profession of law while in his teens, and proved that his aptness as a scholar had developed a taste for the legal profession. He was made a practitioner in 1849, when he arrived at the age of twenty-one, and entered the office of his brother-in-law, A. B. Maynard, where he remained until 1851, when he chose Burlington as his home. His readiness as a scholar, his flashes of wit, his intellectual attainments were all the subjects of remark while quite a boy, and he soon ranked high in his chosen profession among the bright men of his day.

In the summer of 1852, Mr. Edmunds was united in marriage to Miss Susan Marsh Lyman, a daughter of Honorable Wyllis Lyman, a lawyer, of Berlin, Vt., and a man of fine reputation. After some five years of devotion to the law, Mr. Edmunds was singled out as a politician, and honors were laid at his door without the seeking. From 1854 to 1859 he was a member of the Legislature of Vermont, and for three years was chosen as its Speaker.

He entered the State Senate in 1861, and was its presiding officer *pro tempore*, and took his seat in the United States Senate April 5, 1866, vice Solomon Foote, deceased.

The Legislature elected him for the remainder of the term ending March 4th, 1869. He has been re-elected three times, and is one of the very few men who are in that body whose tenure of office is secure—perhaps there is no man in the country who has served his State so well and has displayed greater devotion to his people and country, and unless disabled physically or mentally, or elected to a higher office, Vermont will undoubtedly do herself the high honor of continuing her distinguished son in the National Council for an indefinite period.

He was elected a member of the Electoral Commission in 1877, and in consequence of his great legal knowledge succeeded Lyman Trumbull as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, a post which he still retains. In the contest with Andrew Johnson, he proved conservative and moderate, his influence being exerted to allay the inflammation of the public mind. The initiation of the Electoral Commission and the Pacific Railroad Funding bill were carried largely through his efforts. Senator Edmunds is not considered an eloquent speaker, but he is fluent, powerful, clear and convincing. He is a man to speak to thoughtful men, and convinces by the symmetry of his thoughts, logic and truth which pervades his utterances, rather than a man to sway an audience with flights of sentimental oratory. He is ready in repartee and a master in the skill of extemporaneous argument; is noted for his keen sarcasm and drastic humor. Unlike most men, he scarcely ever goes so far as to break personal relations with any of his fellow-members of the Senate or bar.

Mr. Edmunds is an honest, conscientious, truth-loving man. An official life of twenty-nine years lies behind him, clear, luminous and pure; no dishonest action, no corrupt practice has ever stained his escutcheon. His highest aim having been to fitly serve his people and his Republic. He is unalterably opposed to all underhand work or irregular proceedings, and no man alive would even dare to approach

him with a dishonorable proposition. Earnest in purpose, pure in life, grand tribune of the people and a statesman, no favor sways him and no fear can awe. When Senator Anthony's health failed his brother Senators wished to elevate him to the dignity of President of the Senate, but he declined to act only so long as absolutely necessary. He is not a politician, and never seeks office—honors so far have sought him, and so it will be until the end.

PART SECOND.

PRINCIPLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

OF THE

REPUBLICAN PARTY

PORTRAYING ITS

BRILLIANT HISTORY

THROUGH THE ENTIRE

PERIOD OF ITS EXISTENCE.

PRINCIPLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

OF THE

REPUBLICAN PARTY

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE grand achievements of the Nation under the administrations of the Republican party form one of the brightest pages in universal history. In a government resting upon the will of the people and deriving its powers from their consent, the study of the underlying principles which have moved the masses from time to time, as the old gave place to the new in political administration, must forever inspire the mind of the loyal citizen with the keenest interest. And when, as in this instance, the principles of a party continue to exert a controlling influence upon the Nation, and, as living issues, demand our consideration, it is a crime to be ignorant concerning them.

For the quarter of a century the Republican party has been upon the successful side of every great national question. The principles of its advocacy have been victorious at the ballot-box and in the arbitrament of the sword. The people have bowed to the self-evident righteousness of its principles and the expediency of its measures. It is not pretended that this party of the people has made no mistakes; but these are trivial if compared with the vastness of its enterprises and the grandeur of

their results. No party in the history of nations ever accomplished more or left less in its record to be regretted.

To strengthen the wavering, convince the honest and stimulate the patriotic in the support of the Republican party, we present a brief array of its brilliant past achievements and its present glorious purposes.

CHAPTER II.

GROWTH OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

THE framers of the Constitution found it impossible to secure the adoption of that instrument, without introducing into it three provisions in the interest of the perpetuation of human slavery.

1. That the African slave trade should not be abolished by law before 1808.

2. That slaves fleeing from their masters should be surrendered upon demand, and,

3. That in the apportionment upon population of representation in Congress and in the Electoral College, three fifths of the colored population should be counted.

And thus our forefathers, against the protest of many of the wisest and best men of that period, sowed the seeds which eventually sprang up and produced a slave oligarchy which held such sway over the Nation that its power could be overcome only by the vigorous efforts of the greater part of a century. The clause in the Constitution defining the date at which African slave trade must not be disturbed, caused the importation into the United States of as many as three hundred thousand slaves between the time of the formation of the Constitution and the year 1808. The vast number of slaves in the country produced in the slave-holding States, a wealthy class of land-owners whose exemption from work afforded the amplest fields for the study of government and the practice of statesmanship. With this advantage, they entered the halls of Congress with commanding mien, and exerted an influence not warranted by the number of their constituency.

On the other hand, while this power was domineering in high places, there was silently working among the

masses, and especially in the North, the voice of conscience, which was destined to overthrow that which was backed by the influence of money and time-honored custom. The first notable awakening of this silent influence made its appearance when Missouri knocked at the door of the Union for admission as a State. Hitherto, the commonwealths admitted into the Union had alternated as free States and slave States, thus balancing in the national senate the influence supporting slavery and that opposing it. Should Missouri be admitted as a free State, the slave power would lose ascendancy. The struggle was protracted and fierce, and resulted in drawing a line at latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, which was hoped to dedicate the region north of it to perpetual liberty, and was presumed to allow for the domain south of the line the organization of States, sustaining or discarding the right to hold slaves as the people might decide. Such, indeed, were the provisions allowed by the Missouri Compromise; but it was only a temporary smothering of those sentiments which must ultimately result in triumph. This agitation witnessed the first bold advocacy of the doctrine known as Nullification, of which John C. Calhoun was champion, and which was based upon the idea that the United States is a confederation, and not a Nation. This position, taken by a statesman and thoroughly believed by him, relieved his conscience from compunction while avowing the supremacy of his State, and her right to withdraw from the Union. Connection with the Union was desirable to the slave-holder as long as the government protected his slaves, but should that protection be withdrawn, he preferred a separation from the union of States. This idea was held in reserve till its carrying out should become the only alternative.

The government had not been in existence one third of a century before it was seen that the slave system, if confined to original boundaries, would die of its own weight.

Accordingly, as a means of perpetuating this institution, the slave oligarchy became earnest advocates of the annexation of territory in the west and south. Meanwhile in 1833, the national anti-slavery society was formed. This society poured into Congress petition after petition praying for the abolition of slavery or some amelioration of the condition of those who were held to perpetual bondage. These petitions were received with such disfavor by those who opposed them that the "right of petition" became a political issue, and one for which the Whig party waged unrelenting war. Those who labored for the overthrow of slavery were called Abolitionists, and at first were most unpopular in nearly every section of the Union; yet their cause was so just and their efforts so persistent that their ranks steadily advanced and drew largely from opposing organizations. The Abolitionists organized the Liberty party in 1840, which in 1843 enunciated a platform at Buffalo, New York, based on the principles of universal justice and interpreting the Constitution as granting to the general Government no power to establish or continue slavery anywhere. The same year there appeared a division in the Democratic ranks of New York, and the breach widened from year to year. The liberal wing, known as Barnburners, united with the Liberty party in 1848, and the combination was thereafter known as the Free-Soil party, advocating under a new name and in a great measure, the principles of the Abolitionists. It was composed principally of those who could not operate with the two great political parties of the day in their efforts to hold at bay the question which was really uppermost in the mind of every statesman. The series of platforms enunciated from time to time by the Whig and Democratic parties so covered up this all-important question that they were enabled to retain within their party lines vast numbers who were opposed to slavery, but desired its discussion kept beyond the pale of politics. At length the com-

promise measures of 1850, which embraced what had been the features of the omnibus bill, became laws of the land. These measures provided for a fugitive slave law so obnoxious in the free States that some of the Legislatures passed what was known as personal-liberty bills designed to counteract the law for the recovery of escaping slaves. Two years after these measures met the approbation of Congress the Whig party, in national convention, passed a resolution in support of the compromises, thus publicly committing the party to the support of a law sustaining the system of slavery. This resolution rent the party in twain, and its members sought affiliation in other congenial organizations. The Whig candidate was defeated, and before another presidential campaign rolled around the Whig party was no more. It lived as long as it steered clear of the question of slavery, but the moment it engaged to support that incubus the ties that bound it together were torn asunder. Now occurred a momentous event which gave the advocates of universal freedom a sure place of anchorage. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill became a law. It virtually annulled the Missouri Compromise on the ground that the latter was unconstitutional, and threw open to slavery the vast stretches of territory north of the line which had been held as a sacred boundary for over thirty years.

The bill, as especially advocated by Senator Douglas, provided for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska into territories, so that the people should be allowed to decide for themselves the questions of their domestic institutions. The Free-Soil party and Anti-Slavery Whigs contested the movement at every step. Their efforts were in vain, and the territories were organized. Defeat in Congress was no cause for the cessation of efforts. The flames of political strife were kindled high, and a rapid amalgamation of all the forces opposing slavery at once set in. Just what to do was not exactly known; yet the restless divisions oppos-

ing the Democratic party were a unit in their antagonism to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and from 1854 to 1855 the Anti-Nebraska partisans put forward candidates whom they supported under different party names. It was in these times that anti-slavery men belonging to the different parties came to the conclusion that the triumph of their cause could be secured only through the formation of a new party, which could act without the embarrassment of a pro-slavery wing. In the early months of 1854, at a political meeting in Wisconsin, a resolution was adopted, providing that if the Kansas-Nebraska Bill should pass they would throw old party organizations to the winds, and organize a new party on the sole issue of the non-extension of slavery. On the 20th of March of the same year, the opinion was expressed, at another political meeting, that the new party would probably receive the name of Republican. The *Detroit Tribune* favored the disbanding of the Free-Soil and Whig parties, and the organization of a new party composed of all the opponents of slavery extension. In July, 1854, a mass convention was held in Michigan, which adopted a platform opposing the extension of slavery, and gave to the new party the name of Republican. Meeting with encouraging success at State elections, the new organization, from a small beginning, increased rapidly in numbers and drew into its fold, by degrees, all those who opposed the extension of slavery into the territories. Thus, by the fusion of Whigs, Free-Soilers, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and Anti-Slavery Americans, the Republican party was organized and formed a fitting political home for the various partisans of whom it was composed. With pride and consciousness of right, it appropriated all that was good of its germinating predecessors, and hinged its fortunes upon the great question of the non-extension of slavery, and resolved to inscribe upon its banner all that was involved in "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men."

CHAPTER III.

FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR AND FREE MEN.

LONG before the organization of the Republican party the seeds from which it grew had been strewn with liberal hands. The three items in the caption of this chapter had been introduced into the anti-slavery platform adopted at Utica, New York, June 22, 1848; and the Liberty party, 1843, basing its declarations on the ordinance of 1787, resolved, in regard to the territories of the United States, that "the soil itself" was legally "incapacitated to bear any other than freemen." In the first platform of the Republican party, Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, it was affirmed that Congress held constitutional and sovereign authority over all the territories of the United States, and that it was both the right and the duty of Congress to receive Kansas as a free State. This doctrine was emphasized in the Second National Convention of the Republican party, May 17, 1860, Chicago, by a resolution declaring "that the normal condition of all the territory of the United States was that of freedom," and demanding that Congress should assert and enforce this doctrine against all opposition.

And when the wild whirlwind of rebellion swept across the South, basing itself on slave labor, and bringing the thew and sinew of its four millions of bondmen to bear, indirectly, against the life of the Nation, Republicans saw that the supreme hour had come. The question of Free-Soil as applied to the territories dropped out of sight. In the providence of God deliverance for the whole land was at hand.

It is difficult now to realize that this should ever have figured as an issue in American politics. But the reader

of history will find that the dominant slave power had succeeded in banishing the right of petition and the liberty of speech accompanying that right from the halls of Congress! For a number of years the infamous "Twenty-first Rule" was enforced. It was introduced by Charles G. Atherton (Democrat) from New Hampshire, 1838, and provided that "every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper touching or relating in any way or in any extent whatever to slavery or the abolition thereof, shall, on presentation, without any further action thereon, be laid upon the table, without being debated, printed, or referred." "Free Speech" meant the right to be heard anywhere and on any subject inside or outside of Congress. The Republican doctrine always recognized that right, denying to no citizen the right to be heard. * * *

And thus in the inevitable march of Republican principles, slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia, April, 1862; and September, 22, 1862, a proclamation by the President threatened emancipation, provided the States in rebellion did not return to their allegiance to the Government. This was regarded as but a feint by the Unionists, and treated with contempt by the Rebels. But the long-deferred moment arrived, and emancipation as a political necessity or war measure, was proclaimed January 1, 1863. However, the Fugitive Slave Law was not blotted from our statutes till June, 1864. On the famous Emancipation Proclamation President Lincoln "invoked the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of God." Mankind have approved and God has blessed this greatest act of the greatest of Republican Presidents.

This phrase passed into politics as a gem, uttering at once the universally-conceded principle in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created free," and demanding its application to all classes of society except criminals. The Abolitionists had no well-matured plans

of emancipation for the slave, but were striking hard blows against a fearful evil almost as old as sin itself, and embodying the "sum of all villainies." When the Republican party was organized, it fell heir to all the moral forces which had hitherto been dreaded by the advocates of the "peculiar institution" of the South. Added to these were the prudential considerations which told all men who did not desire victory for the slave oligarchy, that the balance of power in the United States Senate depended upon the success of the Republican party and the admission of Kansas as a free State.

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, May 30, 1854, threw the vast domain stretching west from Missouri to California, and once pledged to freedom, back into the angry discussions of slavery and anti-slavery parties. Questions once settled by compromise were to be fought over again at the ballot-box. The excitement throughout the country never ceased until it burst in the thunders of civil war. The fact that large numbers of the people had lost confidence in the sincerity of the Democratic leaders could no longer be concealed. To save the country north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes to liberty, the Republican party became a necessity. Buchanan recognized the Lecompton Constitution in his message, February, 1858, and the freedom of the territory of the west was imperiled. The Republican party grew into power in a day. All classes and grades of opposition to slavery were consolidated into one as the result of the encroachments of the slave power, with which compromises had ceased to have any legal or moral force. The precise feeling and position of the young and growing party of freedom, at the time of its organization, was never more tersely or popularly expressed than by Mr. Lincoln, in his opening speech in his celebrated canvass with Senator Douglas; said he, "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free. I do not

expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the farther spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of absolute extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, north as well as south." This utterance was the key-note of his campaign, and eventually made him President.

CHAPTER IV.

NON-EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

WHILE the great body of the men who united to form the Republican party entertained the opinion that human slavery was a violation of the inherent rights of mankind, and totally inconsistent with the genius and principles of our system and form of government, they were not disposed to set at defiance the guarantees of the Constitution, originally engrafted for the protection of this institution, but they were earnestly devoted to the principle that wherein Congress had the power to limit, or abolish slavery, the same should be done.

Washington, Jefferson, and other great revolutionary spirits of the South, deplored the existence of slavery, and looked forward to the time when it would be abolished. They, however, gave their adhesion to the compromises in the Constitution inserted for the protection of that institution.

The spirit of slavery is intensely aggressive; and not only was slavery used as a system of labor, but as a great power in politics and the social relations. Men came to believe that slavery was of divine origin—that it was the true relation ordained of God, between the white and black races; and so the laws of the States were enacted with the view to its perpetuation, and a policy for the National Government was established looking to its constant extension. The admission of new States was timed so as to maintain the balance of power between the sections, and thus preserve to slavery, in connection with its northern allies, the control of the Senate.

The contest in the presidential election of 1860, mainly turned upon the question of the extension of slavery into

the Territories, and of the right of slave-holders to the protection of the Constitution in emigrating with their slaves into the Territories.

Without entering upon a minute discussion in regard to the attitude of parties upon this question, it is well understood that the Slavery Propaganda maintained the right, under the Constitution, of taking their slaves into the Territories, and holding them there as other property; and that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislatures had any power or authority to interfere with the status of slavery in the Territories during the existence of the Territorial form of government.

The Republican party maintained the position that, while they had no constitutional right to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed by virtue of State laws, they insisted that Congress had power over the Territories, and that laws should be passed to prohibit the extension of slavery into any of the Territories of the Union.

Lincoln, with prophetic vision, foresaw and predicted that this Government could not continue half slave and half free. He believed that ultimately slavery would cease to exist, and that the Union would be maintained for the protection of the rights and interests of a great and free people. He did not propose to wage an unlawful warfare against slavery in the States where it existed; but he believed in the right of discussion, and expected to see created through this means a public sentiment, South as well as North, in favor of the final extirpation of this state of society and labor, which he believed to be wrong.

These sentiments were fully indorsed by the men who elevated Abraham Lincoln to the presidential chair. It was in no spirit of aggression that he and they conducted the campaign of 1860, but they were voicing the progressive spirit of the age when they declared against the further extension of slavery.

The opposition to this attitude of the Republican party was as fierce and malignant as though the party had declared in favor of the immediate abolition by Congress of slavery in the States. It was not enough for the friends of slavery that that institution was safe in the States where it existed, and was to be left subject to the will of the people of those States respectively. All civilized governments throughout the world maintained the doctrine that the state of slavery was subject to local law, and was not a natural condition of society; the friends of slavery set this doctrine at defiance and demanded the right to import into the Territories of the Union the laws of the States which placed fetters upon the colored race. And so, when Lincoln was elected president of the United States, according to the Constitution and forms of law, the leaders of the South determined to break up the Union; not because slavery in the slave States was to be interfered with; not because slaves fleeing from their masters would not be returned upon demand made according to law; not because there was danger of a reduction of the representation of the slave-holding States in Congress and in the Electoral College, by deducting from their total population the slaves authorized by the Constitution to be counted; but because there was a demand upon the part of the freedom-loving people of the United States that slavery should not be extended beyond the bounds which it then occupied.

CHAPTER V.

PRESERVATION OF THE UNION—REVIEW OF SECESSION MOVEMENTS.

THE three hundred thousand slave owners had grown into a slave power that controlled the South in 1857. At this time the South controlled the Democratic party, and this party controlled the Union. But the course of events was turning against them. Prior to 1845 an equilibrium between the sections was maintained by admitting as many new Southern States as new Northern States; but after that time five new Northern States were added to the Union, and others were almost ready for application, while there were no new Southern States to counterbalance them. From 1820 to 1848 there had been as many Senators from the slave States as from the free States. In 1852 the latter had thirty-two Senators and the former only thirty. The impossibility of maintaining an equality in the Senate produced alarm in the South. To this fear of the slaveholders there was another cause of doubt as to their continuance in power. The power, energy and resources of the free States were overmatching the efforts of the South in Kansas; and if Kansas could not be made a slave State, the advocates of slavery saw but three courses to pursue: the cession of Cuba to the Union, as territory for slave States; the acquisition of territory south of Texas as material for the same purpose; or the re-opening of the African slave trade. If these attempts should fail, they desired a separation from the free States, and the establishment of an independent government that would secure slavery from all attacks and restrictions.

SECESSION.

The Legislature of South Carolina having met to choose electors, remained in session till the election of Lincoln was assured. It then called a convention of the State to consider the mode and measure of redress. The convention passed, unanimously, the following: "An ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled, 'The Constitution of the United States of America.'" Copies of this ordinance were forwarded to the other slaveholding States, and Governor Pickens issued, December 24, a proclamation embodying the substance of the ordinance. South Carolina was relied upon by disunionists to take the initiative in the work of secession and to fire the southern heart. Other slave States, unwilling "to abandon their smaller sister," rapidly followed her example.

The Legislature of Georgia met November 8, 1860, and on the 18th called a convention and appropriated \$1,000,000 to arm the State. On the 3d of December the Legislature adopted resolutions proposing a conference of the Southern States at Atlanta on the 20th of the following February. The convention met January 17, 1861, and received commissioners from South Carolina and Alabama. Resolutions were adopted declaring it the right and duty of Georgia to secede. On the 19th the ordinance of secession was passed — ayes 208, nays 89. Two days afterward Senators and Representatives from Georgia withdrew from the Congress of the United States. On the 24th delegates were elected to a southern Congress at Montgomery, Alabama, and on the 28th commissioners to other slaveholding States were elected. The following day the convention adopted an address to the South and the world, after which it adjourned. It re-assembled in March and ratified the "Confederate Constitution"—ayes 96, nays 5.

On the 20th of the month an ordinance was passed authorizing the Confederate government to occupy, use, and possess the forts, navy yards, arsenals, and custom houses within the limits of said State. April 26, Governor Brown issued a proclamation ordering the repudiation, by the citizens of Georgia, of all debts due Northern men. Such, with slight modifications, were the steps taken by every State that seceded before the close of March, 1861. Having completed these acts, the seceded States began operations under the Confederate Constitution. Mississippi passed the ordinance of secession January 9, 1861; Florida, January 10; Alabama, January 11; Louisiana, January 25; Texas, February 1; and Arkansas, March 18. No other State seceded till after the beginning of hostilities in Lincoln's administration. When a State seceded it appointed commissioners to visit other slaveholding States to confer regarding the most efficient measures for the cause of secession. South Carolina appointed eight commissioners, Alabama eight, Georgia two, and Mississippi fourteen.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

Between the election of Lincoln and his inauguration, a portion of the cabinet were aiding the cause of secession in every practical way. They were not molested by the President, for he stated that the executive had no authority to decide what should be the relations between the federal government and a seceded State. During the year preceding the election of Lincoln the transfer of United States arms to the South had been quietly going on under the direction of Mr. Floyd, Secretary of War. The *Mobile Advertiser* upon the subject, says:

“During the past year 135,430 muskets have been quietly transferred from the northern arsenal at Springfield alone, to those in the Southern States. We are much obliged to Secretary Floyd for the foresight he has thus

displayed in disarming the North and equipping the South for this emergency. There is no telling the quantity of arms and munitions which were sent South from other Northern arsenals. There is no doubt but that every man in the South who can carry a gun can now be supplied from private or public sources. The Springfield contribution alone would arm all the militia men of Alabama and Mississippi."

The transfer of arms was conducted quietly from the last of 1859 till the last of 1860; but when Lincoln was elected all measures connected with secession were pushed with uncommon vigor. The Senators from the States farthest south controlled the movements of secession, and aided by the telegraph they accomplished their purpose with a rapidity to which history affords no parallel. Their leading object was to organize a new national government through which they could rally the outright secessionists, obtain the allegiance of the doubtful, and coerce those who should refuse compliance. Jefferson Davis, Senator from Mississippi, was head of the senatorial group conducting the work of secession. The Legislature of his State, January 19, 1861, adopted resolutions inviting a congress of delegates from the seceding States to provide for a southern confederacy, and to establish a provisional government therefor. The proposal was at once accepted, and delegates appointed through the State conventions. The provisional congress thus constituted met at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 4th of February, with delegates from South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

Texas delegates were not chosen until February 14. A provisional constitution was adopted on the 8th of February, and the next day Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stevens, of Georgia, were chosen provisional President and Vice-President. They were inaugurated on the 18th. Executive departments were established, a confederate regular army was organized, and

provisions for borrowing money were made. The permanent constitution was adopted March 11.

The provisional congress consisted of but one House, and legislated mainly for the regulation of civil service under the new government. Postmasters were instructed to make their final accounting to the federal government May 31, "thereafter accounting to the Confederate States." Civil and military officers in the service of the United States, on joining the confederacy, received offices in the confederate service equal in rank to those they had left, or else higher positions. The provisional congress adjourned on the 16th of March, but re-assembled at Montgomery at the call of President Davis, in consequence of the efforts which the Federal government was making to enforce its authority in the South.

In the mean time Congress had met, December 3, 1860, and the opinion of the President on the question of secession was made known to the country. In his message to Congress he stated his inability to find officers in the south to execute process against offenders, and expressed the opinion that it was impossible, legally, under such circumstances, to coerce the obedience of a State; such, he said, was also the opinion of the attorney-general. The President appealed to Congress to institute a constitutional amendment recognizing the rights of the Southern States in regard to slavery in the territories; but he argued against secession and revolution, and expressed a determination "to collect the revenue in the ports of South Carolina by means of a naval force, and to defend the public property." The closing portion of the message is to the effect that secession is wrong, but he knew not what to do, for he did not believe that Congress could constitutionally coerce a state.

THE CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE.

Congress was occupied chiefly in considering propositions for conciliation. The request in the President's message

to amend the Constitution in the interest of slavery in the territories was referred to a committee of thirteen. Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, submitted a joint resolution proposing certain amendments to the Constitution, but the committee rejected the compromise, and reported that "they were unable to agree upon any general plan of adjustment." Mr. Crittenden seeing that the requisite two-thirds vote of Congress on his amendment could not be obtained, submitted to the Senate a joint resolution which might be passed by a majority of both Houses. It was to the effect that his rejected amendment be referred, by an ordinary act of Congress, to a direct vote of the people of the several States. This proposition, with its modified form, was before Congress till the last day of the session, when it was defeated in the Senate by a vote of nineteen in the affirmative and twenty in the negative. The leading provisions of the Crittenden compromise were that north of the parallel of 36 degrees and 30 minutes, slavery should be prohibited; that south of this line it should be recognized and never interfered with by Congress, and slaves rescued from officers after arrest should be paid for by the Federal government. The provisions were to be incorporated in the Constitution and never altered or amended during the existence of the Union. The compromise was one of conflicting claims, and could not receive the support of either party.

Other propositions were presented, but none received the sanction of both Houses except a constitutional amendment prohibiting Congress from interfering with slavery in the States. This amendment was adopted by the legislatures of Ohio and Maryland, but the attention of other States was drawn from it by the rapid occurrence of exciting and important events.

THE PEACE CONVENTION.

At the invitation of the General Assembly of Virginia,

commissioners from thirteen free and seven border States assembled in a peace convention, February 4, 1861. The 133 delegates composing the convention endeavored to present to Congress such recommendations as would prevent the border States from seceding, and bring back to the Union the cotton States that had withdrawn. The committee to which the matters under consideration were referred, reported that the Constitution should be amended so as to include the following: "In all the present territory of the United States north of the parallel of 36 degrees and 30 minutes of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all the present territory south of that line, the status of persons held to involuntary service or labor, as it now exists, shall not be changed; nor shall any law be passed by Congress or the territorial legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the States of this Union to said territory, nor to impair the rights arising from said relation; but the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the Federal courts, according to the course of the common law. When any territory north or south of said line, within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude, as the Constitution of such State may provide."

On the twenty-seventh of February the proposed amendment was adopted by the convention and communicated to the Senate and House of Representatives by Mr. Tyler, chairman of the convention and ex-President of the United States. Mr. Crittenden, an earnest advocate of the amendment, endeavored to bring the Senate to a vote upon the question, but in this he was unsuccessful. The recommendation of the convention met with less favor in the

House than in the Senate. Leave to present it was not even allowed to the Speaker.

The refusal to pass any compromise heightened the excitement in the South and enabled earnest secessionists to wield an influence for disunion in places where there was a reluctance to secede. The following telegraphic manifesto was sent from Washington, December 22, 1860, by Robert Toombs:

Fellow Citizens of Georgia: I came here to secure your constitutional rights, or to demonstrate to you that you can get no guarantee for these rights from your northern confederates. The whole subject was referred to a committee of thirteen in the Senate yesterday. I was appointed on the committee and accepted the trust. I submitted propositions, which, so far from receiving decided support from a single member of the Republican party on the committee, were all treated with either derision or contempt. The vote was then taken in committee on the amendments to the Constitution, proposed by Hon. J. J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, and each and all of them were voted against, unanimously, by the black Republican members of the committee. In addition to these facts a majority of the black Republican members of the committee declared distinctly that they had no guarantees to offer, which was silently acquiesced in by the other members.

The black Republican members of this committee of thirteen are representative men of their party and section, and, to the extent of my information, truly represent the committee of thirty-three in the House, which, on Tuesday adjourned for a week, without coming to any vote, after solemnly pledging themselves to vote on all propositions then before them on that date. That committee is controlled by black Republicans, your enemies, who only seek to amuse you with delusive hope until your election, in order that you may defeat the friends of secession. If you are deceived by them, it shall not be my fault. I have put the test fairly and frankly. It is decisive against you; and I now tell you, upon the faith of a *true* man, that all further looking to the North for security for your constitutional rights in the Union ought to be instantly abandoned. It is fraught with nothing but ruin to yourselves and your posterity.

Secession by the fourth of March next should be thundered from the ballot-box by the unanimous voice of Georgia on the second day of January next. Such a voice will be your best guarantee for liberty, security, tranquillity, and glory.

ROBERT TOOMBS.

While compromise measures were being uselessly debated, disunionists were pressing the work of secession with energy and ability. "Time, which should have been spent in making the federal government ready to assert its supremacy, was wasted in dallying with theoretical cures for incurable evils." Senators and representatives from the South, while debates on compromises were in progress, would occasionally withdraw from Congress, thus announcing that another State had seceded without waiting for conciliation. When a sufficient number of Congressmen had withdrawn to leave a Republican majority in both houses, Kansas was admitted into the Union under the Wyandot free-state constitution, and Nevada, Colorado, and Dakota were erected into Territories, "even giving the South the benefit of the Dred Scott decision therein." A tariff for the protection of manufactures became a law in 1861; this is known as the Morrill tariff. The electoral votes were counted in February, and were found to be 180 for Lincoln and Hamlin, 72 for Breckinridge and Lane, 39 for Bell and Everett, and 12 for Douglas and Johnston. Lincoln and Hamlin were therefore declared elected. After the electoral vote was counted, Congress authorized a loan and an issue of treasury notes, and adjourned March 3, 1861. The following day Lincoln and Hamlin took the oath of office.

The administration of Lincoln, as foreseen by all, was to be a stormy period in American politics. However, the far-reaching sweep of events, soon to transpire, was scarcely within the vision of the most prophetic eye. The country everywhere felt a sense of insecurity. In Washington the friends of the President-elect, apprehensive of danger, took steps to provide for his personal safety. It was believed they had discovered a conspiracy to assassinate Mr. Lincoln while going through Baltimore. Reposing implicit confidence in the people, it was difficult for him to understand, after his triumphal passage through three

great States, that such a purpose to thwart the decision of the ballot-box should exist anywhere in the Union. But evidence thickened and he passed Baltimore, in disguise, arriving at Washington about the time he was expected to leave Harrisburg.

From February 23d till March 4th was spent in the capital. He was cordially received by Mr Buchanan and introduced to his cabinet, then in session. The members of the peace congress visited him, and distinguished citizens and official bodies welcomed him.

Monday morning, the 4th of March, 1861, a vast concourse, of every party and shade of political opinion, thronged the city. And although a spark would have kindled the passion of the hour into a flame, the inauguration was accomplished deliberately and without bloodshed.

The ceremonies of inauguration, always impressive, were surrounded with painful solicitude. The vast crowd witnessed the unprecedented spectacle of a number of vacant places among the members of the Senate and House, occasioned by resignations to join the rising southern confederacy. The judges of the Supreme Court were there, Chief Justice Taney attracting attention because of his known pro-slavery principles. Many officers of the army and navy, ministers from foreign courts, and distinguished party leaders, noted with critical eye every movement in the historic scene.

Mr. Lincoln appeared, accompanied by the retiring President, Mr. Buchanan, and by Mr. Douglas, whose friendship at that time could not be too highly appreciated. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney, Hannibal Hamlin having already received the oath of office as Vice-President, and the newly elected Senators having been sworn in.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

No man had ever approached so great an occasion with

more ability. Firmness, prudence and humility were so equally blended in the address that, for a time, it disarmed his enemies, and his friends were not quite sure of the strength of his purpose till they had given his words a calm consideration. Its influence was pacific. For a moment all parties were stilled. The abolition element at the north, felt that it was too conciliatory; the secessionists were incensed by the very calmness which pervaded it; the masses throughout the northern and western States approved, and the "Border States" were satisfied. But few comprehended its grasp on the possibilities that lay in the Nation's pathway. He re-affirmed the distinguishing feature of the platform on which he was nominated, which declared the "right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively," but construed the articles of association of 1774, the Declaration of Independence of 1776, the Articles of Confederation of 1778, with the Constitution of 1787, so as to make it "impossible" for a State "lawfully," "upon its own mere motion to get out of the Union;" and promised that the Union of all the States, would, under the Constitution, "defend and maintain itself," while all the power confined in him should be used "to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government."

ATTEMPTED ADJUSTMENT OF DIFFICULTIES.

Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, received, as early as the 11th of March, "through the kind offices of a distinguished Senator," a request from Mr. John Forsyth, of Alabama, and Mr. Martin J. Crawford, of Georgia, for an unofficial interview; but the nature of the proposed interview was such that, from "considerations of public policy," it was respectfully declined. This was followed by a written communication from these gentlemen, then in Washington, under date of March 12th, sealed, and deliv-

ered on the 13th to Mr. Seward's assistant. This was intended as an official document. In it Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford claimed to be "accredited commissioners of the Confederate States of America, to the government of the United States." They represented that seven States had "withdrawn from the United States, and formed a government of their own." They said the "Confederate States constituted an independent nation, *de facto* and *de jure*, possessing a government perfect in all its parts, and endowed with all means of self-support;" and closed by requesting a speedy interview, that they might present their credentials to the President of the United States, and lay before him the mission with which they had been entrusted, for the "future welfare of the two nations."

To this bold declaration Secretary Seward replied, stating that he had the honor to submit to them a copy of Mr. Lincoln's inaugural address, a simple reference to which would satisfy those gentlemen that, guided by the principles therein laid down, the secretary was altogether prevented from admitting or assuming that the States referred to by them had, in law or in fact, withdrawn from the federal Union, or that they could do so in the manner assumed. He also refused to appoint a day on which they might present their credentials, and refused to "recognize them as diplomatic agents," or to "hold correspondence with them." He closed by assuring them that the President had been consulted, and that he declined any official intercourse with them.

This correspondence seems sufficiently explicit, and shows the determined purpose on both sides that no concessions were to be made. But there were yet at Washington, and high in civil and political circles, some who entertained hopes of some kind of amicable adjustment, whether through compromise or by disunion does not clearly appear. Prominent among these was John A. Campbell, a citizen of Alabama, and member of the

Supreme Court. Judge Campbell interposed his friendly offices in behalf of the claims of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, and seems to have thought, at one time, he would be successful. He addressed Secretary Seward, under date of April 13, complaining that certain conversations with reference to sending supplies to Fort Sumter had led him to expect a different result in the action of the government. His impression was that Fort Sumter would have been peaceably evacuated, and he had assured the aforesaid confederate commissioners that no measure "prejudicious" to the southern confederate States was contemplated on the 15th of March. He claimed that the southern leaders were acting under the impression that "systematic duplicity" had been exercised toward them, in which impression he seemed to fully share; and concluded by demanding an explanation.

To this no reply was made, since it would have been, indirectly, giving an account of the government for its actions to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

In the meantime, these gentlemen having failed to obtain an audience as the representatives of a distinct nation, addressed another letter to Secretary Seward, April 9, in which they claimed for the confederacy the rights springing from a "manifest and accomplished revolution;" and accepting for their government and people, as they expressed it, "the gauge of battle," which they claimed had been thrown down by the United States when it refused them official recognition.

Whatever misunderstanding existed in regard to negotiations for peace, or in regard to possessing and holding the United States forts on the southern coast, is easily explained by the fact that the parties were working at cross purposes. One was demanding peace and the Union; the other asked peace with disunion. And if, as claimed, the President wavered as to the propriety of maintaining the garrison in Fort Sumter, it could have been but a

question of policy as to that particular place, as no word or act of Mr. Lincoln, which has come to us through history, contradicts his avowed purpose that the Union should "maintain itself."

During this period, and for some time after, many officers of the regular army, following the example of seceding States and resigning congressmen, dropped their uniforms and obligations, and assumed commands in the fastly forming Confederate army. They justified their action on their claim to State citizenship, through the doctrine of State sovereignty. Everywhere in the South the idea prevailed that allegiance to a State was paramount to any obligation to the national government. On this plea, officers of the army, to the number of about two hundred, with General Robert E. Lee at their head, wheeled into line with the southern battalions. General David E. Twiggs, second in rank among the officers of the United States army, and commandant of the department of Texas, during Buchanan's administration, was notably influential in his active co-operation with the secession cause.

THE BORDER STATES.

While a majority of the people in the border States of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, together with those of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, were in sympathy with the South, they did not believe in secession. One obvious reason for this was the fact that in the event of a war for the restoration of the Union, their territory would evidently be the battle field. Besides, there were large sections of these States where slaves were few, and the people, consequently, did not feel the interest, pecuniarily, in making slavery the corner-stone of a new empire that was elsewhere expressed. But there were enough Secessionists, wealthy and influential, to contribute men and money in answer to the calls of President Davis,

and to keep their demand for disunion constantly and imperiously before the public. This pervading sentiment of sympathy with and preference for the South, at the same time hesitating to join the rebellion, was nowhere better expressed than in the language of Governor Hicks, of Maryland. He had been memorialized by a large number of citizens, among them ex-Governor Pratt, demanding a call of the Legislature to express the views and position of Maryland on the situation. He answered November 27, 1860, refusing to convene the Legislature, and January 3, following, in an address to his people, said: "I have been told that the position of Maryland should be defined, so that both sections could understand it. Do any really misunderstand her position? Who that wishes to understand it can fail to do so? If the action of the Legislature would be simply to declare that Maryland is with the South in sympathy and feeling; that she demands from the North the repeal of offensive unconstitutional statutes, and appeals to it for new guarantees; that she will wait a reasonable time for the North to purge her statute books, so as to do justice to her Southern brethren, and, if appeals are vain, will make her common cause with her sister border States in resistance to tyranny, if need be, it would only be saying what the whole country well knows, and what may be said much more effectually by her people themselves, in their meetings, than by the Legislature, chosen eighteen months since, when none of these questions were raised before them. That Maryland is a conservative Southern State all know who know anything of her people or her history."

But the Maryland Legislature was at last convened by Governor Hicks, meeting at Fredericksburg. By a unanimous vote in the Senate, and a majority of 53 to 13, it refused to secede. But a State board of safety, with considerable powers, was appointed. Its members, with one exception, were in sympathy with the South. On the 10th

of May, 1861, the Legislature passed resolutions declaring that Maryland desired and consented to the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States; that the war on the part of the United States was unconstitutional; but recognizing the obligations of Maryland to the Union, and praying the President, in the name of God, to stop the unholy war.

But Maryland never seceded, and her course, however viewed, was a consistent State sovereignty example.

The Legislature of Delaware convened January 2, 1861. Governor Burton, in his message, held the Abolitionists responsible for all the trouble, and asserted that the North should retire from her untenable position immediately. Mr. Dickenson, a commissioner from Mississippi, addressed the Senate and House jointly in favor of secession. But they passed a resolution, unanimously, disapproving of Mr. Dickenson's "remedy" for existing difficulties.

The Missouri Legislature passed a law, January 16, 1861, calling a State convention, which met, and on the 9th of March resolved that there was no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the federal Union. But the Legislature took active steps to provide against danger by appointing a strong military police force for the city of St. Louis; and Governor Jackson issued a call, June 11th, for 50,000 volunteers to drive out the federal troops as invaders of the soil of Missouri. In the meantime Captain Lyon and Colonel Blair had taken control of St. Louis and vicinity at the head of 6,000 troops. Governor Jackson, General Price, and thousands of Missourians retired southward, fighting as they retreated.

Governor Magoffin called the Legislature of Kentucky together. They met January 17, 1861, but refused to issue a call for a convention. It was decidedly a Union Legislature, a majority of whom were in favor of a peace congress at Washington. The election for delegates to a peace convention, held May 4, gave 50,000 Union major-

ity. A states-rights convention was called to meet at Frankfort, March 22, but accomplished nothing. Finally, on the election of congressmen to the extra session, called by President Lincoln, nine Unionists and one Secessionist were elected. The vote was 92,365 for the Union, and but 36,995 against it.

The Arkansas convention was visited, March 16, 1861, by W. S. Oldham, bearing a letter from President Davis. Said letter, of March the 9th, was an argument in favor of secession. A vote resulted in thirty-nine against secession to thirty-five in favor of it ; but as a compromise it was agreed to submit the question of secession to the people for ratification or rejection on the first Monday in August. But before the time came, the convention re-assembled and voted sixty-nine to one in favor of secession. The fact that South Carolina had fired on Sumter, and war was imminent, explains the swift change that came over that convention.

BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER.

It was necessary that sectional feeling should be excited to its highest pitch in order to consolidate the South. This fact was foreseen by many of the Southern leaders, but the reaction which it occasioned at the North was far greater than they anticipated. It is possible that the South lost more than she gained by firing on Fort Sumter.

President Lincoln notified Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, that supplies would be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise, if necessary. This fact was at once reported to the authorities at Montgomery, and on the tenth of April, 1861, the Confederate Secretary of War authorized General Beauregard to demand the evacuation of the fort, with liberty to proceed according to his own judgment in case of refusal. At two o'clock p.m., General Beauregard demanded the evacuation of the fort, on the ground that the Confederate States could no longer

permit a fortification beyond its control within reach of one of its harbors. Major Anderson, commanding Fort Sumter, declined to evacuate it; and, in reply to a demand as to when he would be willing to evacuate, replied that he would do so at noon on the fifteenth, providing he did not receive controlling instructions from his government or additional supplies. This answer is explained by the fact that the garrison would soon have to succumb on account of starvation, a fact known to the Southern authorities, and to the public generally. The reason for the immediate attack on the fort, then, lies in the fact that there was probability of help for the little garrison. At 3:20 a.m., on the twelfth of April, General Beauregard, acting under orders from Montgomery, opened fire for the reduction of the fort.

The Southern leaders were pleased to regard the President's determination to supply a garrison of the United States, in one of its own forts, at all hazards, as virtually an act of offensive war against the South; but the fact remains that the active bombardment of a United States fort, for hours, by authority of the Confederate Secretary of War, before a shot was fired in defense, was understood by the masses of the people as a demonstration of the purpose of the South to initiate war. This conviction was so deep that no amount of argument could ever change the opinion of the country in regard to it.

Roger A. Pryor had said at Richmond, Va., in a notable speech, "I will tell you, gentlemen, what will put Virginia into the Southern Confederacy in less than an hour by Shrewsbury clock—STRIKE A BLOW! *The very moment that blood is shed, old Virginia will make common cause with her sister States of the South.*"

Mr. Gilchrist, a member of the Alabama Legislature, said, in conversation with Jefferson Davis and other notables: "Unless you sprinkle blood in the faces of *the people, Alabama will be back in the Union in ten days.*"

This was uttered the day before the batteries were opened on Fort Sumter.

This willingness for the "gauge of battle" was now satisfied. A "blow" had been struck! Blood had been "sprinkled in the faces of the people!" It was hailed with delight throughout the South. It flashed through the North, arousing the people everywhere to face the reality of internecine war.

LINCOLN'S CALL FOR 75,000 TROOPS.

Fort Sumter had surrendered to the disunion forces on the 13th of April, 1861. The proclamation of the President calling for 75,000 volunteer troops, to suppress "combinations" that obstructed the execution of the laws of the United States in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, was issued Monday, the 13th, and was received throughout the North and West as a most righteous measure.

The President ordered the lawless combinations, alluded to in his proclamation, to disperse within twenty days, and called an extra session of Congress to convene on the 4th of July. His Secretary of War issued to each State, except California and Oregon, a circular stating the quota of men each was required to furnish. The governors of the free States, except those on the Pacific coast, were all Republicans, except Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island, who was a conservative. He quickly furnished the men asked for by the President, and volunteered to go with them to Washington. The governors, the press, and the people of the North, as a rule, were satisfied that the national honor required vindication, and the 75,000 troops were furnished with alacrity.

REPLY OF SOUTHERN GOVERNORS.

The governors of the border States responded in terms haughty and defiant. Governor Letcher, of Virginia,

accused the President of inaugurating civil war for the purpose of subjugating the South, saying, "The militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such purpose as they have in view." Governor Ellis, of North Carolina, characterized the call for troops as a "violation of the Constitution and a usurpation of power," and closed by saying: "You can get no troops from North Carolina."

Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky, replied: "Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States."

Governor Harris, of Tennessee said: "Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion, but 50,000 if need be, for the defense of our rights or of our Southern brethren."

Governor Jackson, of Missouri, in emphatic language, responded: "Your requisition is illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary, inhuman, diabolical, and can not be complied with." Governor Rector, of Arkansas, curtly said: "None will be furnished. The demand is only adding insult to injury."

Governor Burton, of Delaware, in his proclamation of April 26, recommended the formation of volunteer companies for the protection of the lives and property of the people of Delaware against danger from any source. His idea was that they should not be subject to the President, but were at liberty to tender him their services "for the defense of the capital, and to support the Constitution and laws." In the same line of policy, Governor Hicks, of Maryland, issued a call for troops, May 14, stating that the four regiments would be detailed to serve within the limits of Maryland, or for the protection of Washington.

The condition of affairs was unprecedented. No such state of political interests had been anticipated, certainly not provided for, by the Constitution. The interpretation of our organic law had always varied according to the

school of politics or immediate interests with which statesmen and jurists had been identified. This administration was to be sustained by a Republican majority; and for the first time in the history of the country, we were in a war, with a loose constructionist party in power. The facts indicated many and startling changes.

The Constitutional Union party dissolved soon after the election of Lincoln. Some of its members entered the Democratic party, others the Republican; but a large portion of them became confederates. The Breckinridge Democrats of the south entered the confederacy; those of the north joined the Douglas wing. Some from each division of the party became Republicans.

The Democratic party had usually been in accord with the south upon national issues, but had never gone with them to the extent of admitting the right of secession. Individuals like C. L. Vallandigham, of Ohio, had done much, however, to encourage a feeling of security at the south, and possibly of a hope that northern Democrats would assist them. But if such ideas were entertained they were soon dispelled by the logic of events. "War Democrats" became a term to designate a large element of that party who were determined to support the Republican administration in putting down the rebellion; while a great many Democrats, feeling that all minor issues were swallowed up in the one great question of how to save the country, at once made common cause with the Republicans. And in this way the latter party, already dominant, controlled all national legislation.

Among Democrats of a national reputation, Senator Douglas was pre-eminent. He said, at Chicago, on the 1st of May: "There are only two sides to this question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war; only patriots or traitors." He declared it to be "the duty of every American citizen to rally around the flag of his country."

The fusion of Democrats with the Republicans led to the style and title of the "Union party"; and this was, for a time very popular. The strict construction theories of the Democratic party, which had been detrimental in former times, were abandoned. The tide set in favor of changes and interpretations new to a war *regime*; and the peace Democrats, as a curb, were but the necessary conservative element to steady the work of human progress. The Constitution came through the war unimpaired. Had it not been for the constant opposition to a liberal construction of its terms, the necessity of consistency might have dropped out of sight.

REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER.

Congress met July 4, 1861, in compliance with the call of the President the preceding April. The Republicans were in a majority in both Houses. The House of Representatives organized by electing Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, Speaker, and Emerson Etheridge, a supporter of Bell for President, but an avowed Unionist, for Clerk. On the next day the President delivered his message. He claimed to have yielded all that could have been done without relinquishing the government. He said, "the States have their *status* in the Union, and they have no other legal *status*; if they break from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution." The policy of the border States, he said, would not give the disunionists a disunion of their own. He expressed the profoundest sorrow that necessity compelled him to use the war power to defend the government. He asked Congress for "at least four hundred thousand men and four hundred million dollars."

The message was a compliment to the President's fast growing reputation. The friends of the Union were entirely satisfied with it.

In the Senate ten of its members, having vacated their

seats, were formally expelled July the 11th. The House at once began the work of the session by a resolution to consider no measures except those relating to the military, naval, and financial proceedings of the government.

Notice was given on the first day of the session, by Mr. Wilson, chairman of the committee on military affairs, in the Senate, that at the earliest convenience he would introduce four bills and a joint resolution. They were accordingly introduced.

The first was a bill authorizing the President to call out five hundred thousand volunteers, and appropriating five hundred million dollars to the support of the war. It was reported back from the committee on military affairs, July 6, and passed the Senate ; Powell, of Kentucky, and Polk and Johnson, of Missouri, voting against it.

The bill reported from the House military committee by Mr. Blair, came up in the committee of the whole, on the 13th, and brought out a repetition of all the arguments elsewhere referred to, and gave full notice to the country of the complexion of legislation to be expected. An amendment by McClelland, of Illinois, reducing the appropriation to one hundred million dollars was rejected, and an amendment by Vallandigham, of Ohio, proposing a cessation of hostilities, and the appointment of peace commissioners, was also lost; but with a proviso, introduced by Burnett, of Kentucky, that the army should not be used in holding, after subjugation, as a conquered foe, any "sovereign State now or lately one of the United States," the bill passed the House.

The Senate bill, with the House bill as an amendment, was agreed to by the House on the 16th ; but the Senate not concurring, a conference of committees resulted in the House receding, and the Senate bill became a law by the President's signature, July 22.

Thus the Senate prevailed in this first legislation of this memorable Congress ; but the divergence of temper

in the two branches became more apparent, when, on the 13th, Mr. Wilson's bill, adding eleven new regiments to the regular army, and increasing the strength of the old regiments, passed the Senate. Mr. Blair reported it, substantially, to the House, but creating a volunteer instead of a regular force out of the recruits. He stated that the House military committee were unanimously opposed to an increase of the regular army. On the 22d the Senate refused to concur with the House, on the ground that the change destroyed the purpose of the bill. A committee of concurrence from each branch took the matter under advisement, the House receded, and the bill became a law.

On the 10th Mr. Wilson's third bill was reported to the Senate, providing for the better organization of the army. Before its passage, Mr. Powell, from Kentucky, moved to amend by adding that "no part of the army and navy of the United States should be used to subject sovereign States, or to abolish or to interfere with slavery." Mr. Lane, of Kansas, offered to amend by adding the words "unless a military necessity shall exist for the purpose of maintaining the Constitution;" which, together with all other amendments, failed, and the bill passed. The House amended it, the Senate refused to concur, and the bill became a law August 3.

Thus provisions on a gigantic scale were made for the prosecution of the war. But the resolution of Mr. Wilson, brought forward in the Senate as early as July 10, "to give the same legality and validity to the President's proclamations and orders as if they had been issued under the previous and express authority of Congress," was not quite so successful.

This resolution referred to and recited the official acts of the President "since the adjournment of Congress on the 4th day of March last." Among them were the proclamation, April 15, calling for 75,000 men; the proclamation, April 19, blockading the Southern ports; and one on the

27th, blockading the ports of Virginia and North Carolina ; the order for suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in Maryland, addressed to the commanding general of the U. S. Army, April 27 ; the calling out of additional forces to the volunteers, and increasing the regular army and navy, May 3 ; and the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in Florida, May 10.

Considerable debate followed, but the bill was not pressed to a final issue; the chief objection lying in the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* at Baltimore, Md., and in Florida. But the occasion brought out many strong declarations of indorsement, notably that of Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. And he further distinguished himself by introducing a bill, which became a law, making provision for arming loyal men in disloyal States. Two millions of dollars were appropriated for that purpose, but Secretary Stanton assumed the responsibility of a loan from that fund to Governor Morton, of Indiana, to aid him in equipping troops at a time when the willing dispersion of his Legislature had left him without money.

August the fifth a bill was introduced into the Senate, from the committee on military affairs, increasing the pay of non-commissioned officers and privates from eleven to fifteen dollars per month. Mr. Wilson offered an amendment, whereby all the acts of the President with reference to the army and navy were made legal and valid. Mr. Stevens, in the House, succeeded with an amendment by which the pay of the soldiers was reduced from fifteen to thirteen dollars per month. Mr. Vallandigham moved to strike out that portion of the bill referring to the orders and proclamations of the President, but was signally defeated. This bill, as amended by the House, was laid on the table in the Senate.

A new bill fixing the wages of the soldiers at thirteen dollars per month was at once introduced in the Senate by

Mr. Wilson, and amended on his own motion, so as to legalize and make valid all the acts of the President regarding the army and navy, and in calling out the volunteers. This became a law, and practically accomplished all that Mr. Wilson's original resolution intended. It marked, as opposition members noted, a great change in the feelings of many members of Congress. All who were determined to preserve the Union, and assert the supremacy of the national government over every foot of its soil, saw that, without the vigorous and timely steps of the Administration in using the war power, there would have been nothing left to legislate about except the fragments of a once glorious country.

On the same date the tariff act, increasing the duties on imports, was passed. Bills, authorizing a loan of two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, and many minor matters connected with the regulation of the army and navy, were but the details in carrying out the great purpose declared in the war measures already recited. The House, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-one to five, pledged itself to vote any amount of men and money necessary to put down the rebellion; and by a vote of one hundred and twenty-one to two it adopted the following:

“Resolved, by the House of Representatives of the United States, That the present deplorable war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in revolt against the constitutional government, and in arms around the capital.”

It was also resolved, July 22d: “That in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of interfering with or overthrowing the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the *supremacy* of the

Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all its dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

In these resolutions Congress but voiced the sentiments of the majority of the people, and was in full accord with the inaugural address of the President, and of the platform on which he was elected. Having thus vigorously undertaken the war, the Republican party prosecuted it to the end, and preserved the Union from the most gigantic conspiracy ever initiated in the annals of the world.

CHAPTER VI.

EXTIRPATION OF SLAVERY.

MEANS for dispensing with the institution of slavery were inaugurated under Jackson's administration in 1833, by the Anti-Slavery society. This society advanced in influence and power and won adherents with such steady increase that in 1839 those advocating its sentiments resolved to organize themselves into a political party, known as the Abolition party, taking its name from its advocates, who were endeavoring to secure the abolition of slavery. The Abolitionists operated in their great cause under different party names. In 1840 they belonged to the Liberal party, and subsequently their organization was known as the Free-Soil party. As measure after measure in the interests of slavery made their appearance, the adherents of the cause of freedom grew in strength, and ultimately became the dominant party. The fugitive slave law had always grated harshly upon the ears of a vast number in the free States. This law was opposed by a large majority of the Whigs in the north, and when their party in convention decided to support the enactment, the organization fell to pieces. The agitation over this law was followed up by the excitement over the Dred Scott decision, made by the Supreme Court, declaring that any person whose ancestors were imported into this country and held as slaves, had no right to sue in a court in the United States, thus denying the right of citizenship to slaves, or to the defendants of slaves. Chief Justice Taney at the same time declared that the framers of the Declaration of Independence did not include the Negro race in declaring that all men are created equal; that the

patriots of the Revolution regarded the Negro race as so far inferior that they had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them. The Chief Justice further declared that since slaves were property, all acts restricting slaves were unconstitutional, and there was no authority in Congress or the local Legislature for preventing the spread of slavery over the whole Union. The Northern States were startled by this decision of the Supreme Court, for the mass of the people in the free States regarded the slaves as a kind of property whose secure position was guaranteed only by the State laws which made them property. The Democratic party through its Executive assumed that this was a final decision, and that slavery now being nationalized, would cease to be a factor in politics. This decision was the last attempt made to decide the struggle by form of law between slavery restriction and slavery extension, and henceforth the course of events tended rapidly to a settlement of the difficulty by the force of arms.

About this time slaveholders began to discuss the opening of the African slave trade. This was occasioned in a measure by the bitter opposition put forth against slavery in the north. Kansas for a number of years was the battle ground between the contending forces of freedom and slavery. John Brown, of that State went to Virginia and engaged in an insurrection in the interests of freeing the slaves, but he was soon brought to trial and executed, under the laws of Virginia. The Democratic National Convention of 1860 met in Charleston, and the party was divided on the question of slavery. This organization which had so long been dominant was dismembered, and a portion of its ranks were ready to declare for secession.

After the election of Lincoln, civil war was precipitated for the purpose of preserving the institution of slavery. Since this was the corner-stone on which the confederacy

was based, it was apparent to the Republican party that the destruction of this institution was a necessary prelude to the overthrow of the Rebellion. The question occupied the attention of President Lincoln, and was the one thought uppermost in his mind. He first suggested the idea of compensated emancipation. Agreeably to his suggestion, made a second time and the subject of a special message, March 2d, 1862, Mr. Conkling introduced into the House a resolution drafted by Mr. Lincoln, advocating compensated emancipation, and, after the suspension of the rules, passed by a vote of 97 to 36; it passed the Senate April 3d, by a vote of 32 to 10. The Republicans as a rule voted for it, and the Democrats against it; and this was true even of those in the border States. Noting the fact, and desirous to please those in his judgment most interested, the President invited the Senators and Representatives of the border States to the executive mansion, and read to them a carefully prepared argument on gradual emancipation as a means of breaking the lever of the disunion power.

In a well-written response, the border State members of Congress, to the number of twenty, after assuring him that they would never falter in their devotion to the Union while they had a State to defend and a Government that protected them, said that the right to hold slaves was a right appertaining to all the States of the Union. They estimated the value of slaves in these border States at nearly five hundred millions of dollars; and while the scheme was impracticable they were yet willing to submit to it. Having failed in his effort to introduce compensated emancipation, the President, during the summer of 1862, decided to try the virtue of a proclamation. It declared, September 22d, 1862, that "on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State designated, or any part of a State the people whereof shall be then in rebellion against the United States, shall be then

thenceforward and forever free." This recognized the right of property in slaves in all States and parts of States not in rebellion. This proclamation made no impression upon the confederates, who compared the same to "The Pope's Edict against a Comet." Following this, January 1st, 1863, Mr. Lincoln performing the great act of his life, issued his Emancipation Proclamation for all slaves in the country. The measure was quite unanimously supported by the Republicans, and more or less censured by the Democrats. The proclamation liberated three millions of slaves, and from the day of its issue the Confederacy began to wane. The movement had touched the chord of sympathy among lovers of freedom in the whole world, and was regarded as a moral aid to the success of the Union arms. The proclamation announced that all persons held as slaves should be free, and that the Executive Government of the United States would recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons. The first was but the work of a man, of a single person, while the latter was the work of a Nation.

Successful legislation was seen to be necessary to insure the freedom of those who had been liberated by emancipation. It was felt that enactments in their behalf should culminate in an amendment to the Constitution and on the 14th of December, 1863, a bill providing for the submission to the States of an amendment to the Constitution was presented to the House by Mr. Ashley, of Ohio. This measure, and others similar to it, were introduced and amended to read as follows: "Article 13, Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or in any place subject to their jurisdiction. Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

This amendment was brought up for consideration by the Congress of the United States, and, after due delibera-

tion, received the requisite vote for its enactment. Thus the Republican party supporting its great emancipator in the Executive chair, enacting vigorous laws to suppress the Rebellion, and waging a great war in the interests of its principles, brought about the extirpation of slavery and freed the country from its burden of cruelty and national shame.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR PARTY.

IT is a fact of history that no party in any nation was ever deposed from home rule and legislative power while successful in military operations. The party victorious in war is naturally dominant in time of peace. Military prestige gives to that party which exercises it in behalf of its country the homage of the hearts of the people. By failing to encourage the war to preserve the Union, the Democrats lost control of the Government, so that, although aided by the "Solid South," they have yet been beaten on every field of contest. The Republicans, as the Union party and the War party, placed themselves in the position to be called the saviors of the Nation. No representative convention of the Democratic party ever resolved in favor of the prosecution of the war against the "great rebellion." On the contrary, the *unwisdom* of that party in the Chicago convention of '64 declared the war a failure, advised conciliation, and promised to "protect" the soldiers "in the event of the country attaining power"! In opposition to the "not-another-man-or-dollar" policy of the Democratic party, the Republicans, in every meeting, from town hall to capitol, urged the prosecution of the war, and expressed faith in the final triumph of the Union arms. In the darkest hour of our history, when assembled at Baltimore, June 7, 1864, they said in their national platform, "It is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain, against all their enemies, the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States." And rising to the full responsibility of the occasion, they further said: "Resolved, that we

approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based on *an unconditional surrender* of their hostility, and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion." So that, while history has a voice or truth a tongue, the Republican party will be known as the Great War Party!

What an inspiration to young men casting their first votes or to those who have never yet voted on the winning side! Whatever the Stars and Stripes represent; whatever the Constitution and the laws of the Nation mean; whatever our liberty and its guarantees are worth; whatever the victory of our armies and navy over treason has secured to us and to humanity; these are the measure of the merit and honor of the principles and achievements of the Republican party.

The party that saved the country will continue to control it. When the Democratic party was the war party prosecuting the battles of the country against Mexico, and resolving in "favor of the present war and the next," they were overwhelmingly dominant in our party politics, except as the phenomenal war record of some such individual as General Zachary Taylor brought him conspicuously to the attention of the world.

Added to its unsullied war record is the distinguishing fact that the Republican party has been on the right side of every great legal, moral and humanitarian question sprung in American politics since it had an existence. Its life-long foe, under the name of Democracy, has nothing to offer except a record made abortive by the repudiation of its promises, and suspicious by its consideration for the enemies of the Government. And when by the inexorable demands of public utility it has been compelled to accept

the declarations of Republican policy, and in some degree to adopt its measures of expediency, it has followed the tide of Republican victory a good deal as the disciples followed the Savior, "a great way off"!

CHAPTER VIII.

A SOUND NATIONAL CURRENCY.

THE Republican party from the first was imbued with a determination to carry forward the Government, and to enforce its rights and prerogatives over every foot of soil subject to the Constitution. After the disaster at Bull Run, the formidable character of the rebellion began to be fully appreciated, and the subjugation of the South was regarded as a hopeless undertaking by many at the North; the rebels were full of courage, and had the satisfaction of seeing the Government without money. Loans to the full extent possible had been obtained from the banks, and yet to supply the army, pay and equip the soldiers, improve and man the navy swallowed up all and left the administration facing the yawning chasm of a national bankruptcy.

Determined as the friends of the country were, and hopeful as they had been, they had no adequate ideas of the resources of the Republic. The figures, which became familiar as household words during the administration of Mr. Lincoln, would have stupefied the boldest if they had been presented at its commencement.

The policy of the Government had hitherto been to depend upon the taxation of foreign commodities, and to make this tax as light as possible. The revision of our national customs laws under what is known as the Morrill Tariff, April 1, 1861, worked admirably, increasing the receipt of customs, notwithstanding the falling off of importations, because it doubled the duties imposed.

The special session of Congress July 4, 1861, was the beginning of the new era of financial achievements. The Republican party, fresh and untried, had to meet the

responsibilities of a preparation for war on a scale hitherto unknown in the western hemisphere. The treasury had been empty and the Government in debt at the close of Mr. Buchanan's administration, so that treasury notes sufficient to liquidate outstanding liabilities were issued. The fifty millions per annum resulting from the Morrill tariff was totally inadequate for the most pressing demands upon the treasury.

President Lincoln asked Congress for 400,000 men and \$400,000,000. A bill was reported in harmony with Secretary Chase's recommendation, authorizing a loan of \$250,000,000. A tax of \$20,000,000 was levied on the States, distributively, and a three per cent assessment passed upon all incomes over \$800, which was soon superseded by a broader system of internal revenue.

When the bill providing for a loan of \$250,000,000 seven per cent twenty-year bonds was reported from the committee of the whole, one hour was given to its discussion, and chiefly occupied by Mr. Vallandigham in a speech in opposition to the bill, when it passed the House by a vote of 105 to 5. The Senate passed it without debate, but with some amendments, which were concurred in by the House, and it received the President's signature July 17. Some Democrats concurred in this measure, but it was essentially the beginning of the vast responsibilities assumed by Republicans. The Act provided for the borrowing of \$100,000,000 abroad. It soon became evident that money kings were fearful, and that England at least was pleased with our embarrassments. The difficulty of commanding *coin* for our vast financial operations was fast becoming an impossibility. Therefore, other means besides disposing of bonds for coin had to be found. Specie payments were suspended by the banks, and simultaneously a bill was reported in the House from the committee of the whole, authorizing the issuance of \$150,000,000 legal tender treasury notes. This bold measure met with opposition

even from some Republicans; but, borne on by the exigencies of the hour, it was hurried to a vote, passing by a majority of 93 to 59. The ninety-three affirmative votes were all Republican. In the Senate it was amended so that the interest on the national debt was to be paid in coin, which seemed to be a necessity, and a motion to strike out the legal tender clause was lost by a vote of 17 to 23. Of the twenty-three, twenty were Republicans. The bill then passed the Senate by a vote of 30 to 7, and was approved February 25.

The legal tender notes proving popular with the people, an additional \$150,000,000 were added by act of July 7, 1862. July 1st an income tax was established that reached almost all classes of the people. July 14th the tariff was largely increased, and every available stitch of canvas seemed to be spread to catch the favoring gale, if any should come. The financial policy of the Republican party was established. It has been criticized, but the wonder is that the party succeeded as well as it did. At the first available moment the income tax was dropped, and the import duties reduced to the lowest point compatible with safety. Internal revenue was confined to luxuries, and the tariff modified to suit the changing attitude of the affairs of the Nation.

It has been asserted, and never successfully contradicted, that the low tariff of the Democratic administrations immediately preceding the accession of the Republican party to power, had encouraged imported goods, discouraged home manufactures and sent our coin abroad to pay the pauper labor of Europe and fill the purses of foreign corporations and capitalists. The revival in some degree of the doctrine of a protective tariff was entered upon simply as a financial necessity; but with the present experience of the country its wisdom and utility have been so amply demonstrated that no human foresight can predict a change. With slight modifications, adapted to the wants of particular

classes and particular industries, the present Republican tariff system will permanently remain.

NATIONAL BANKS.

No great commercial and manufacturing country in modern times has been able to transact its business by the medium of coin alone. Some kind of a banking system, issuing redeemable currency, has always been a necessity. The only question for the Republican party to decide, therefore, was, whether to continue the Democratic State banks, or to adopt a national banking system, which should be directly under the control of the government.

The latter was chosen, and a bill reported by the finance committee in the Senate, authorizing a system of national banks, to be founded on the principle that "every dollar of circulation would represent real capital actually invested in national stocks." The vote stood 23 to 21. Three democrats voted in the affirmative. It passed the House without amendment, receiving the President's signature, February 25, 1863.

This principle furnishes the soundest basis possible for a circulating medium, and the strength of the system is such that with such modifications as the wisdom of Congress, fresh from the people, shall from time to time suggest, it is likely to remain permanent. Certain it is that our people have enjoyed the luxury of a currency of uniform value throughout the country, and one which, under the fostering care of the Republican party, has for years been at par with gold.

SPECIE RESUMPTION.

The chimerical idea of a fiat money, or irredeemable currency, never lodged in the Republican mind. Consequently they made provision for returning to specie payments. With the history of the Hamiltonian system before them, and the failure of the system of 1816 well-

remembered, the Republicans were enabled to avoid some of the defects that had marred the workings of a national system of currency under former administrations. They guarded against political favoritism, and against the possibility of a consolidation of the national banking capital, and fixed the date of specie resumption for January 1, 1879.

The Democratic party, aided by a large defection from the Republican ranks, attacked the administration fiercely during the canvass of 1878, affirming the impossibility of resumption at the time fixed by law, and charging the financial crisis then impending, with untold imaginary future evils, upon the Republican party. Never did the coolness and sagacity of the Republican leaders shine with greater brilliancy than when this cloud broke and the sun of financial prosperity was revealed high above the political horizon. The logic of success had crowned the administration, and the Democrats who had resolved in their national platform of 1856, "That Congress had no power to charter a national bank," were left to adjust themselves as best they could to the new lease of power which had been secured to the Republican party.

CHAPTER IX.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

IT is very difficult to write a law upon which men may not place conflicting constructions; and still more difficult to write a law that will be as good for one generation as another. It is only where perfection in theory has been attained that this can be done. And since the little Swiss cantons clustered together furnished the only specimen of a free government, and our fathers were practically on untried ground, the forming of a Constitution was a very responsible and delicate affair. A thorough acquaintance with English law enabled our representatives to adjust the powers and functions of State after the model of Great Britain, with the exception that the offices, being all elective, the government is much nearer the people, and it can consequently be relied upon to do their bidding, and not to be the conservator of old policies or traditions. Each successive administration is not only free from its predecessors, but fresh from the people. Our government therefore is necessarily a progressive one, provided the people progress. To meet the demands which thus sprang up from time to time new elements had to be introduced into our organic law. It had been provided that, by a resolution in Congress submitted to the States and ratified by three fourths of them, the Constitution could be amended. And this submission of the States to a constitutional amendment, because three fourths of them had approved it, always demonstrated that there was no such reserved sovereignty as some politicians aver. The defeated State bows to the three fourths majority per force of the Constitution; a fact

showing clearly that no contingency could arise where any State could lawfully withdraw from the Union. If compelled to submit to an organic law which it did not ratify, it is clear that there is (and from the beginning has been) a sovereignty higher than any individual State. The reserved rights of the States could not contemplate the nature of possible amendments which might be ratified by the requisite majority of States, so there was a concession which might eventually change the fundamental compact of the Union, and no reservation of the right of a single sovereign State to nullify or rebel was recognized when the government was formed.

The Constitution was freely and healthfully criticised before its adoption by the States. The people recognized, as self-evidently correct, many of the suggestions which were thus thrown before the public. For instance, the demand for a specific "Bill of Rights," by which the organic law of the land should assure to every citizen his right to equality and protection in all that pertained to his life, liberty and property. Among the clear and well-defined demands, it was suggested that provision should be made for trial by jury in civil cases, and in criminal cases upon the presentment of a grand jury; that all criminal trials should be in public, and that the accused should be permitted to meet his witnesses in open court. In the well-chosen words of another, that the Nation should establish no religion, but grant freedom of conscience in the worship of God to all; that excessive bail should not be required, nor cruel or unnecessary punishments at any time inflicted; that all citizens should have the right to bear arms, but that no one should be compelled to bear arms in military duty, whose religion made him a non-combatant; that all persons should have the right of petition for the redress of grievances; that general warrants of search should never be granted, and when specially granted it should be upon an oath of infor-

mation ; that soldiery should be enlisted only for limited periods, nor quartered, in time of peace, on private property without consent of its owner ; that mutiny bills should continue in force not longer than two years ; that causes once passed upon in court should not again be liable to action, except in accordance with the rules of common law ; and that powers not delegated to the Nation were reserved to the individual States.

These propositions were very popular, in the main, and the more they were discussed the more acceptable and necessary did they appear. So popular did the forcible discussion make them that the first Congress, after due care, embodied them in a "Bill of Rights," which, being submitted to the States, ten out of twelve of its articles were ratified by the required number of States, and at once incorporated into the Constitution. In fact, some of the States acted upon these amendments simultaneously with their ratification of the Constitution itself. Here we see in the beginning the omnipotence of the people by whose voice all things are decreed and executed that transpire in a Republican government. Nor was it to be expected that questions of constitutional law were all disposed of at once, or that such a document would not become the text-book for many a partisan debate. During the first century of our national existence, the questions of close and liberal construction of the Constitution were debated by men as clear-headed, logical, and analytical as ever criticized a Roman pandect or an English statute. When finally one school of our politics threw down the "gauge of battle," and the guns that played on Fort Sumter echoing from the lakes to the gulf summoned all the clans to that final test of human governmental policies, the arbitrament of the sword, all philosophical quibblings and rhetorical flourishes that had by turns amused or fired a nation were brushed aside, and the State sovereignty slave oligarchists went down to rise no more. Se-

rene in mid-heaven the stars and stripes were kissed by the breezes from Alaska to the Carolinas, and in the new era of American progress it was discovered that the Constitution was not broad enough for all men to stand upon, nor clear enough to protect every citizen of the Republic in the enjoyment of his liberties.

The Constitution is so sacred a thing that, wisely, the fathers arranged its safeguards and hedged in the way to amendments and changes so that it became a difficult task to add or subtract from that document, which, after nearly a century of successful power, was deemed by many as sacred almost as the Bible itself. But the effort to introduce an amendment to the Constitution of the United States after so long a period of unquestioned authoritative-ness came, strangely enough, from the straightest sect of the strict constructionists. On the very eve of the Rebellion, and as a final test of their power in Congress, before taking their leave of the Capitol, a resolution was introduced by them to this effect: "Resolved, * * * That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of said Constitution, namely:

"Art. 13. No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State."

Thus did they give evidence that the shadow of a cloud rested on the Constitution, and that it must be explained away, if not by fair speeches, then by amendments; and if the slave power could not amend the Constitution, some other power would. This was practically the last effort of the Southern leaders in Congress, and when it had died amidst the shouts of derision in the halls of the Capitol

they were ready to shake the dust from their shoes, and, gathering their chivalric dignity about them, bid Washington farewell until they should return at the head of victorious legions to possess every foot of soil which had ever been held to slavery.

The property or chattel character of the Negro made him the subject of emancipation, and legally secured the right of the government to strike the chains from every slave which, as property, was held to aid and abet his masters in rebellion. So clear was this as a legal proposition that Jefferson Davis not only recommended to the Confederate Congress the *arming* of the slaves, but admitted that he was in favor of this measure, even if it resulted in the giving to the Negro and slave that citizenship which he should peril his life to destroy! Thus did the shrewd politician and statesman see the inevitable. In fact it is but just to say that this arch-rebel saw the handwriting on the wall in advance of many Northern statesmen. He proposed to the assembled Congress of the South the arming and emancipation of their slaves rather than subjugation by the government.

Thus was the Anglo-Saxon mind being educated not only by the radical utterances of the avowed Abolitionists of the Northern States, but by the cautious proclamations of President Lincoln and the demier propositions of the rebel chief magistracy. Every emancipation proposition, whether from Clay, Lincoln or Davis, whether in peace or as the result of war, was a recognition of the manhood of the slave; and the recognition of the manhood of four millions of our citizens, hitherto regarded as but the chattels of the auctioneer's block, necessitated the amendments to the Constitution, which are now, perhaps, forever and unquestionably settled in that document, forming a part of the advance movement of the Nation under the leadership of Republicanism.

Oddly enough the "Thirteenth" amendment, when it

came, was the opposite of the one proposed one month before the guns of the rebellion notified the world that peace between rival factions in American politics was at an end.

The proclamations of President Lincoln bearing on emancipation, of 1862, 1863, together with the acts of Congress, known as "Confiscation Acts," in 1861 and 1862, had gradually led the mind to the comprehension of the inevitable result of the logic of events. The New Year's gift of freedom to all the slaves within the territory of the United States, January 1, 1863, was in every sense a legal and justly conferred law, already withheld long, waiting for the maturity of thought which so grave a matter required among the great masses of the people, without whose endorsement the letters of the President were traced in sand. But it came in "the fullness of time," received the approbation of all loyal men, and laid the foundation for the thirteenth amendment which is couched in these words: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." The act also provides that "Congress shall have full power to enforce it by appropriate legislation."

By joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution was submitted to the various States for their action thereon. Having originated in the Senate in February, 1861, it passed that body April 8th, of the same year; but it was not called up in the House for debate till June following, when the discussion proved unsatisfactory and the resolution defeated. It was called up again in December of the same year, and lingered before that body, with occasional discussions, till January 31, 1865, when it passed the House.

The debates during the three years which this measure had occupied the attention of Congress, had been bitter, crude and embarrassed by the constantly changing atti-

tude of military affairs; but eventually the Democrats settled their opposition into a question as to the legality of the act. The Fifth Article of the Constitution, provides that "*two thirds of both Houses*" shall be necessary to propose an amendment to the Constitution. The Democrats contended that the Rebel States not being represented in the vote there was not a two thirds majority of all the members entitled to represent the States; on the contrary the Republicans assumed that "*two thirds of both Houses*" meant two thirds of the members when in actual session; that when Congress was lawfully assembled a two thirds vote was a legal majority for the purpose of amending the Constitution. In this they were evidently right. Two thirds of "*both Houses*" can only mean Congress when assembled lawfully as a body for work; and if by their rebellion any of the States failed to have a legislative voice in the Houses of Congress at that time, it was but the legitimate result of their own political crimes. They had lost justly their power in the National Legislature.

But the question of ratification by the individual States was a more serious one. According to the fifth article of the Constitution, an amendment thereto must be ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the States. It doubtless could have been successfully held, that the loyal States constituted the government, and that they were competent by a three fourths majority of their Legislatures to ratify the amendments; but the Government preferred to adopt the broad ground that three fourths of all the Legislatures, including those who had forfeited their rights by rebellion ought to be obtained. This accorded with the feelings of the conservative element, and was not specially objectionable to any. By it the reconstructed State governments were enabled to contribute to the ratification of the thirteenth amendment, thus giving the requisite three fourths of all the Legislatures of all the States. However, the

nineteen loyal States supporting it, being the constitutional three fourths of those States who had not been reduced to a territorial condition by rebellion, were considered an ample guarantee for the amendment of the organic law of the country ; and with the approval of the Legislatures of the reconstructed State governments, every possible guarantee was given, which the condition of the government and the States would permit. So that this period of Republican legislation is marked by that prudent and wise forethought which left nothing undone which might contribute to the fairness of its record and the certitude of all the steps taken by the government under its administration.

The objects of the fourteenth amendment were to enfranchise the blacks, suppress any disposition in the States to discriminate against any part of their population by the undue apportionment of representatives, establish the validity of the public debt, and forbid the assumption of the rebel debt.

The discussions upon this amendment when proposed in Congress followed practically in the line of the debates in the previous amendments. No serious objections seemed to lie against the amendment itself, except the almost universal Democratic objection to the enfranchisement of the "inferior race." And when finally reported from the committee by the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, April 30, 1866, it was given till the 10th of May following, and passed under the call of the previous question. It was amended, slightly, in the Senate, which amendments were concurred in by the House, and by the 20th of June forwarded to the executives of the various States.

At this time the steady triumph of Republican reconstruction measures was briefly checked by the chief executive, Andrew Johnson, whose policy of reconstruction was not in harmony with that accepted by the loyal masses and being carried out by their representatives in Congress.

March 2, 1867, Congress declared that no legal government existed in any of the rebellious States, except that of Tennessee, whose Legislature had already ratified the fourteenth amendment; at the same time placing them under a military rule, and prescribing that their State constitutions should be submitted to Congress, and that they should recognize the fourteenth amendment as a condition of admission to representation in Congress.

The opposition to the enfranchisement of the colored race, together with the opposition of the Executive to the manner of reconstruction adopted by Congress, made this a long and memorable struggle. It appeared at one time that the requisite "three fourths of all the States," might not give in their adhesion to this policy, and feeling the security of their position if they should act only by virtue of the required "three fourths of all the States true to the Union," Congress passed a joint resolution declaring the fourteenth amendment adopted, and ordering its publication by the Secretary of State. The day following, Georgia approved the amendment, thus giving it a technical fullness of ratification; but its validity had already been established, because this is a political, not a judicial question, and Congress is the supreme judge of its validity.

One thing was clearly discovered during this trying ordeal, that Congress is the great depository of the will of the people. Executives may thwart, and Judges may embarrass legislation, but the redress of grievances comes to the people through a Congress of their own choosing.

The fifteenth amendment was a necessity arising out of the determined opposition of some of the Southern States, which defied the penalties of the fourteenth amendment and attempted to set aside a constitutional provision of law. Without further penalties for its violation, the fourteenth amendment could not be enforced.

A fifteenth amendment was submitted providing that, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote, shall

not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." Thus to citizenship was not only added enfranchisement, but protection.

The temper of the two great political parties with reference to this legislation is best seen in Indiana, where the Democratic members all resigned their seats in the Legislature, thereby hoping to break a quorum. But the Speaker ruled that a majority of all the votes present in open session was sufficient to pass the amendment, because no member or proportion of members were specified in the Constitution, except a majority. He might have added, that the Democratic members having resigned, their seats were vacant, and they were unknown in that Legislature.

Enough is now known to demonstrate that all amendments are legally within the power of the people, unless they shall conflict with the Constitution itself.

The wide sweep of events transpiring under Republican administration is such as to bewilder the casual observer. As in the exploration of a new country surprises are always waiting to reward the scientific explorer, so we are always rewarded by a careful study of the achievements of the Republican party. Of the many chapters written and indelibly impressed into the history of the Nation, that of the constitutional amendments stands preëminent. There had been debate and doubt as to the meaning of this organic document. As interpreted by Republicans, it needed no change, but to put all controversies forever at rest, and to prevent the possibility of any complications by the legislation which the logic of events have forced on the States, it was deemed prudent to refer all serious questions of dispute back to the ballot, that when this precious document came again from the furnace of thought, it might indeed express the will of the American people. The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are the work of the Republican party. The sum of all the

wisdom and of all the experience in the world upon the subject of governmental prerogatives is this: A nation may lawfully perform any act that does not destroy its compacts of international law or conflict with the dictates of humanity, in order to self-preservation. By this rule slavery had been abolished, and the three million of human beings thrown out into the world without protection and without political existence had to be provided for. This work of protection and defining their status was undertaken. Some question has been sprung as to the legality of the thirteenth amendment; but it will scarcely ever be disturbed for the want of formality in its enactment. The usages of the land have sanctioned and established it beyond the possibility of any trouble over any technicality of law or order. As to the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, they have never been questioned. These are to be the instruments of political regeneration in the South. A vast population, by a series of events entirely beyond their control, have been thrown on American soil, and clothed with the habiliments of freedom. By the same unchangeable past, they have been located in the Southern States, and there they are likely to remain. The constitutional amendments recognize and compel the recognition of the manhood of this large element of our population. And where State or local prejudices of race, color or religion prevent the enjoyment of civil rights by the citizen, it becomes the duty, and is clearly the prerogative, of the Nation to interfere for the protection of the weak and the preservation of the helpless. By this policy the government has already advanced the interests of the South, financially, morally, and intellectually. The work of regeneration is necessarily slow on account of the prejudices of a large portion of the dominant race. But the United States cannot afford to be numbered among the old, proscriptive, and tyrannical establishments descended from the days of the Cæsars.

Her destiny is to stand foremost in the new era of liberty and equality among mankind. In the hands of the Republican party, this shall be accomplished. Our Nation is grand and generous enough to forgive the faults of the past, and determined and strong enough to compel into the highway of political virtue every member of its federal compact. There is no party or power to which this complete work of the new era of American politics can safely be committed except the Republican party. It knows best, for it holds the men who brought these issues to the front; it can accomplish most, because its traditions are in perfect accord with the work which the near future demands. * * *

CHAPTER X.

THE UNITED STATES A NATION.

THE Republican party of to-day embodies all the progressive and reformatory elements and principles that have distinguished the best administrations of all the parties which have ever had control of the government. It was developed early in the history of the Republic that two schools of politics, if not a necessity, were at least inevitable in a free government, and that any excesses into which a majority was disposed to enter, would be subject to fearful criticism from the minority. But it was not till the close of the Jeffersonian period that the clashing interests of localities and the turbulent feelings of individuals began to recognize that submission to the will of the majority in the application of the principles of a party which has resulted in the splendid compactness of our modern organizations.

The marshaling of the hosts for the great struggles that have characterized American politics in recent times was founded upon two theories concerning the nature of the government of the United States as to its organic functions. One theory being that the States were individually sovereign, and that that sovereignty had been maintained in the "reserved rights" of the States; that by virtue of this sovereignty a State could nullify a federal law, or withdraw from the Union, which was understood to be a co-partnery. The distinguished John C. Calhoun, United States Senator from South Carolina, was the ablest advocate of this theory. It was repudiated by Jackson, but still cherished by the hosts of Democracy. It made the great Rebellion a possibility. No National Convention of the Democratic party has ever repudiated

it. It was officially recognized by James Buchanan, the last of Democratic presidents, and was the opaque body that eclipsed the sun of political righteousness to the Democratic party of the North during the years in which the Nation's life hung in the balance.

The other theory is that the United States is a Nation, in forming which the individual States have relinquished the right to nullify the acts of the Supreme Legislature, or to withdraw from the Federal compact; that national legislation when not constitutional is to be so adjudged by the Supreme Court of the United States, but when simply objectionable to individual States, or to sections of the country, can be corrected only by an appeal to Congress itself. Of this theory Daniel Webster, "the expounder of the Constitution," was the strongest advocate. On it the Republican party is built. It saved the government, and made the reconstruction of the subjugated States possible.

The secession idea had been a dream of the slave holding power from the earliest troubles with the large and growing Free Soil element at the North. And the fact that the slavery element held the balance of power in all general conventions of the Democratic party enabled them to throw the country into confusion at will, by the threat of secession. They not only claimed it as a right to be exercised at will by the States, but they flattered themselves that "cotton was king," and that geographical and business relations would compel the territory of the Mississippi Valley States all to go with them. Thus they would found an Empire whose "corner stone should be human slavery."

In 1856 the Democratic party spent its force against the Know-Nothings on one hand and the Abolitionists on the other. Planting itself on the "organic laws establishing the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," as the "only sound and safe solution of the slavery question," it was more de-

cidedly pro-slavery than at any previous time in its history. Ten days later, June 17th, the young Republican party in answer to a call for a Convention of "all the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise," assembled at Philadelphia, and resolved that the "Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government." Thus forming the issue squarely as to the authority of the government over the Territories. This, with the rapidly developing power of the Northwestern States in Congress, would effectually limit the spread of slavery. So at this juncture the two parties stood confronting each other. The Democratic party rejoicing in the apparent triumph of human slavery, the Republicans denouncing the invasion of Kansas by "an armed force," and demanding that it should be admitted as a free State.

In 1872 the Republicans resolved that "complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation." They re-affirmed their political faith and appealed to the suppression of the Rebellion, the emancipation of the slaves, and the establishment of citizenship and suffrage for all, as a record upon which they could well afford to stand. And in the second plank of their platform asserted, "The recent amendments to the National Constitution should be cordially sustained, because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured those amendments."

In 1876, looking back with pride upon its past achievements, the Republican party laid down the doctrine: "The United States of America is a nation, not a league." And

in 1880 they said: "The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract; out of confederate States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not by the State tribunals." These utterances are sufficiently explicit to stand for all time to come. The question of the right of peaceable secession was forever settled by the sword; and the wisdom of the party in power has given every possible constitutional guarantee consistent with the liberties of individual States that it shall be preserved. The civil power will wisely gather and store the fruits of the victories over the great Rebellion. Such is the policy of the Republican party. And its great rival, the Democratic party, though never admitting it to be right in principle, accepted the inevitable, and said, in its platform of 1868, that the questions of slavery and secession had been settled for all time to come "by the war." Thus tardily following in the footsteps of the Republicans, their opponents have vindicated the permanence of their achievements. There have been many to oppose and censure, the ballot and the bullet have been appealed to in vain, the school of politics in which the Republican party was cradled and by which it grew and is yet supported is not only triumphant, but destined to rule with a firm and liberal hand until this whole question of the philosophy of our government shall be so well established that none dare to dispute it.

CHAPTER XI.

RECONSTRUCTION BY CONGRESS.

THE question of the power of Congress over the Territories was a subject of much bitter discussion. After the cession by Virginia of the great Northwest territory to the government in 1787, followed by the purchase of Louisiana from the French in 1803, and the ceding of Florida by Spain in 1819, together with the acquisitions of territory following the Mexican war, the United States held, as a Nation, one of the largest uninhabited tracts of land on the globe. The precise process by which this magnificent domain should be carved into States would, perhaps, have presented no great difficulty had it not been for the interests of the slave power.

The theory of John C. Calhoun was that the Constitution carried slavery into all territory of the United States, where it had not been prohibited by law. On the night of the passage of the Kansas Nebraska Bill, Senator Seward in a masterly speech said : “ I am now, if possible, more than ever satisfied, that, after all this debate, the history of the country will go down to posterity just as it stood before, carrying to them the everlasting facts that until 1820 the Congress of the United States legislated to prevent the introduction of slavery into new Territories whenever that object was practicable; and that in that year they so far modified that policy, under alarming apprehensions of civil convulsions, by a constitutional enactment in the character of a compact, as to admit Missouri a new slave State ; but upon the express condition, stipulated in favor of the free States, that slavery should be forever prohibited in all the residue of the existing and unorganized Territories of the United States lying north of the

parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude.”

But when the Missouri compromise was repealed, and the question of slavery, with all others, referred to the popular vote of citizens of the Territories, the superiority of the free States in numbers of population and disposition to emigrate westward not only assured freedom to all States which ever should be formed north of 36 degrees, and 30 minutes, but gave to friends of liberty a chance to contend at the polls for all the territory of the United States.

Under the leadership of Douglas the certainty of slavery in a portion of the Territories had been surrendered in order to obtain a fighting chance in some others, a risk which the great Republican statesman above quoted, with many others, clearly foresaw. In fact the energetic opposition to the repeal of the Missouri compromise was based by the Republicans not so much upon the ground of any fears of being able to compete with the slave power in the Territories, as from a dislike for the capricious legislation which unsettled compacts and ordinances of the most solemn and apparently binding character, and was, therefore, viewed as a question of policy, a licentious and unreasonable proceeding.

But when emancipation had finally been reached, as a matter of necessity, justified by the fact that the Negroes were property, and as such used for purposes of rebellion against the constituted authorities of the United States, another question arose of the most perplexing character. What is the status of a conquered rebel State? And this question was complicated by the inharmony of the old State slavery constitutions with the new order of things established by emancipation.

The Democratic party having all the time held the doctrine so dogmatically asserted in Mr. Buchanan's inaugural address, that a sovereign State could not be coerced, now thought it saw indestructibility in a State

sovereignty. They could see nothing except recognition. The States had never been out of the Union, and were simply to revive their dormant relations to the government, and step into full and untrammelled power in the Congress of the United States. But Republican sagacity saw in this an opportunity for millions of rebels, whose hands were hot with the blood of treason, to seriously embarrass if not to effectually cripple the legislation which was then demanding the attention of Congress.

Mr. Lincoln recommended to Congress, December 8, 1863, his willingness to proclaim a restoration to the Union of any seceded State, whose inhabitants, having laid down their arms, should swear allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, and organize a free State constitution. Nothing was done under this proposition. Its weak point was that it was premature as to time, and failed to recognize the full extent of authority to Congress, which the Republican members of that body believed to be inherent in it. However, as early as December, 1861, Senator Harlan, of Iowa, had introduced a bill to establish a provisional government over the seven seceded States. This indicated the drift of Republican thought and feeling which was so soon to become dominant, and whose will and work it was to put the old questions that had shaken the foundations of the government so far out of the way that future years should not be troubled with them.

In May, of 1864, Congress passed the first reconstruction act. It provided for the appointment of provisional governors, by the President, enrollment of the citizens who had taken the oath of allegiance, and formation of new State constitutions by such "reconstructed" citizenship. This bill did not meet with the approval of President Lincoln, principally because he thought it would undo the work of restoration already begun by the Unionists of Louisiana and Arkansas. These matters were at best but experimental. Finally, July 16, a bill was passed

by the Republican majority over the veto of President Johnson, which, as the last of the "Freedmen's Bureau Bills," made provision for the homeless and helpless colored people during the period of reconstruction.

Johnson's policy was essentially Democratic. His intense Unionism and his bravery in the Senate, had made him Vice-President. The Republicans had preferred to confer that honor upon a Southern Unionist, to emphasize the fact that it was not a sectional question with them, but simply a war to preserve the Union. Andrew Johnson attained this high honor, and by a fatality that threw the civilized world into mourning, was suddenly elevated to the most distinguished position in the Western Hemisphere—President of the United States! It soon became apparent that his peculiar States rights views would array his administration against the Republican majority in Congress. Mr. Johnson's idea was, that rebellion was an individual, not a State crime; and while making treason "odious" in the abstract, and condemning it in the individual, the taint did not attach, in his estimation, to a sovereign State.

The Constitution had not contemplated the folly of rebellion, hence had made no provision for the re-organization or re-admission of a State into the Union. The question under which the government labored at the time of Mr. Johnson's accession to power, was simply this: Shall the subjugated States be treated as States or as Territories? This was wholly a field of experiment—a field for Republican surveyors to explore. Far-seeing men in Congress—Republicans—had called attention to this question in '61 and '62, but too many other grave matters were then before the country. Consequently it was reserved for Mr. Johnson's administration. His theory that the States had not lost their sovereignty by rebellion, met the hearty approval of the Democrats, and the work of "reconstruction," as he called it, went forward rapidly.

But in all this there was no provision made for the future protection of that large class of citizens with which emancipation had filled the Southern States; and it soon became apparent that the President's policy was simply restoring the rebel element to power without the slightest opportunity for the government to utilize the few friendships which it possessed on southern soil.

When Congress met, December, 1865, as a result of Johnson's reconstruction, five rebel States had sent their representatives to Congress, some of these representatives-elect having been active participants in the recent rebellion. This theory of the sovereign right of the States did not prevent legislation discriminating against the freedmen, and was designed to prevent the "blacks" from enjoying the fruits of liberty.

At this time Congress consisting of a majority of Republicans, and made up from the loyal States, with the exception of a few members, took the question of reconstruction in hand with a masterly grip. They practically decided that the rebel States were but territories, appointed military governors for them, and refused their admittance to the Union until they should have ratified the fourteenth amendment. The re-construction policy of the President was brushed away as if it had been a spider's web, and the territories lately in rebellion were compelled to conform, in their return to representation in Congress, with the laws of the National Legislature. It was a trying time. The question as to whether States so lately out of an armed rebellion could practically return unrepentant, and clothed with the powers of sovereignty, to seats in the halls of national legislation, was settled for all time to come! In all this the Republican party was writing the history of the country, destined to a moral and philanthropic grandeur among the nations of the earth, which, in addition to their martial fame, should make them the proudest people beneath the circuit of the sun!

CHAPTER XII.

TARIFF FOR THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN LABOR.

ANY nation which is both a manufacturing and agricultural country, and whose imports and exports are constantly changing in their relative amounts and values, will always find the question of tariff a living issue in its politics. From the beginning the United States had necessarily to meet this question, nor could the examples of the Old World apply, in many respects, to the conditions of things in the New. It was in this, as in everything else, a new sea of political experience upon which the young nation entered. During the first Congress a tariff both for revenue and protection was established by law; and of the wisdom of this policy there can be no doubt. The only question is, practically, how far and what shall we protect; and to what extent and on what articles shall we depend for revenue? The necessity of a tariff is not debatable. All right-thinking men have admitted it from the beginning. The only trouble about it has been humorously expressed by some one to be that, "every one is in favor of free trade for his neighbor, *but he wants protection for himself!*" There need be no trouble on this question. Congress, acting deliberately, should take into consideration all the varied interests of the country, just as if the entire business were the property of one man, who desired to preserve each and every industry and importation, for the prosperity of the whole. This is the Republican doctrine, and upon this as upon every other issue it is correct in principle. It may sometimes mistake the precise per centum, or the particular interest which most needs encouragement, but of the permanent policy of the

Republican party there is no disguise and there can be no change.

That brilliant statesman, Hamilton, made an exhaustive report on the doctrine of customs as applicable to America, during the first Congress, which recognized in the tariff not only protection and revenue, but a possible regulative factor as to intercourse with other nations. This, through the embargo and non-intercourse policy, during the administration of Mr. Jefferson, was one of the causes of the war of 1812.

In 1816 a tariff law, modified as a tariff must always be, to suit, in the judgment of Congress, the changed condition of affairs, was passed. It classified imported goods as follows: First, Those of which a supply could be produced at home. Second, Those of which a supply in part only could be produced at home. Third, Those produced at home very slightly, or not at all. The object of the legislators was to lay a duty heavy enough to keep out foreign competition entirely on such articles as could be fully supplied at home. Where a partial supply could be furnished at home, a duty of 20 per cent was laid; on the third class, "duties were adjusted more with reference to revenue than tariff."

In 1824, after a long and animated controversy, the tariff was modified again. This time the agriculturalists favored protection, while the shippers opposed it. The planters of the South were against, while the grain-growing districts favored, protection. The experiment of *ad valorem* duties did not work as well as had been hoped. South Carolina was especially hostile, and by 1828 Daniel Webster and others changed so as to unite with her in the repeal of existing laws and the adoption of a protective tariff. Again in 1832-33, the time of Congress was principally occupied with the tariff. Finally, a "compromise" was effected, by which it was provided that duties should be reduced to twenty per cent on all imported

goods. The spirit of "nullification" was allayed, and the tariff ceased to be, for a time, the disturbing element in American politics. But, providentially, it seems, almost as if the future had been in view, the act, approved March 2, 1861, and known as the Morrill Tariff, though it included other matters, one of which was the authorization of a ten-million loan, prepared the way for substantial aid, not only to redeem "outstanding treasury notes," but, at a time when every dollar was of the utmost value, in aiding the government just entering upon the final struggle for existence, to add thousands to our needy treasury. A determined effort was made by the Democrats in Congress to break our tariff protection in 1876, when Morrison, of Illinois, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, introduced a tariff bill, which, it was charged, had been "drawn for him by the free traders and others interested in breaking down protection, ruining home manufactures, and depriving our American home labor of a chance to earn an honest living." The opposition, by which this scheme was defeated, was from the Republican side of the House. But the effort was renewed in 1878, by the introduction of the Wood tariff bill. During the heated discussion which followed, and while values of all kinds were being unsettled by the action of a Democratic House, Fernando Wood said, April 9, 1878, in a speech before the House, "If I had the power to commence *de novo*, I should reduce the duties fifty per cent, instead of less than fifteen per cent, upon an average, as now proposed."

By the prompt action of fifteen out of every sixteen Republicans in the House, aided by a few Democrats who bolted their party, this was defeated; but not until the gravest damage had been done on account of the threatened deluge of free trade.

The Republican platform of 1860 had required such adjustment of the imposts providing for the revenue of

the general government as should “*encourage* the development of the industrial interests of the whole country.” In 1872 they said, “Revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax on tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties on importations.” And in 1876 they said, “Revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.” This was reaffirmed in 1880. In perfect harmony with this record, the platform of 1884 lays down this consistent plank: “It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.”

It is meet that the Republican party, the enemy of slavery, the author, under God, of liberty to millions, should ever appear in the field of conflict battling for the material and intellectual prosperity of the toiling masses who, at the forge or on the farm, in the city or on the wide prairie, are invested with the sovereignty of American citizenship. In the long line of Republican triumphs stands the fact that it has never made a mistake on the LABOR QUESTION. The millions of workingmen from shop and field will find in it the conservator of their financial interests and their domestic comforts. It is, indeed, the

blessed prerogative of a great nation to aid all in the pathway of life. It should know no jealousies between sections, no rivalries between industries; labor and capital should be both alike protected. Equality between the rich and the poor consists, not in making them one in wealth, but in holding their rights, liberties and property, equally and alike sacred before the law.

CHAPTER XIII.

SUPPRESSION OF POLYGAMY.

SOMETIME about 1832, Joe Smith began to create a little disturbance in western New York by his claims to inspiration, and the introduction of a new religion founded upon the discovery of certain golden plates, or the Mormon Bible. No one could have dreamed that this ignorant fanatic would become a disturber of our peace, and that the Congress of the United States would be seriously embarrassed by his followers.

However, Smith was not alone. The times were favorable to his movement. All of the Western States were disturbed religiously, and many new and unexpected changes were taking place. About this time, Sydney Rigdon, a man of more education than Smith, and a preacher of some distinction, revealed himself as an accomplice with him in the work. By the aid of certain absurd speculations, which were already floating round, to the effect that the North American Indians were the descendants of the "lost tribes" of the Jews, and Rigdon's knowledge of the Scriptures, they were able to adapt themselves, and their book of Mormon, to a large class of earnest but unsettled religionists, who at that time were expecting great results from a restoration of the faith of apostolic times. Through Rigdon's preaching the way was prepared at Kirtland, Ohio, and the first church proper of this sect was established there with Joe Smith first, his brother Hiram second, and Sydney Rigdon third in the presidency. Afterwards in Jackson county, Mo., and at Nauvoo, Ills., this presidency located itself and its followers. Grand things were expected, and, comparatively, much was accomplished.

However, in addition to the objectionable features of their religion, they also established polygamy, and took a lively interest in politics. It was at one time feared that Smith himself would be sent to Congress!

His schemes, however, were all brought to an end by his assassination, while under arrest and entitled to the protection accorded by law to all prisoners. This circumstance, regarded as a martyrdom by his followers, was no disadvantage to Mormonism. Brigham Young, at that time senior apostle, preferred charges against Sydney Rigdon to whom the first belonged, both the Smith's having been assassinated, and succeeded in removing him from his office. This left Brigham head of the Apostolic College, and in that capacity he led his people to the wilderness of Salt Lake. Here he attained the First Presidency and became a disturbing power in politics.

To shield themselves in the practice of polygamy they absurdly claim it as a *religious institution*, and stoutly maintain that any unfriendly legislation is a violation of the religious freedom guaranteed to all citizens of the United States by its Constitution. They interpret the violations by one or two of the patriarchs of the original monogamic law of God as a license for their accursed practice. The harem imported by Solomon, together with his idolatry, from Egypt, they regard as divine, and the law of God, "let every man have his own wife, and every wife her own husband," is explained away to suit their purposes.

In a State the conflict with polygamy would have been by the State authorities; but having been transplanted to a Territory, the conflict is with the United States authority. So far it has been tolerated. Not so much, probably, because anybody has been gulled into the stupid blunder of regarding it as a "religious institution," but rather by the strong desire to give the utmost liberty possible to every section of the country, and to overcome every obsta-

cle to a virtuous government, with the least display of anything like coercive power. Like its "twin relic" of barbarism, slavery, trying to hide behind a false interpretation of the Bible, polygamy must go!

In the Forty-seventh Congress a bill was introduced for the suppression of polygamy in the territories of the United States. It was not strictly a party measure, but what aid and comfort the Mormons received was in the main from Democratic sources. The Democratic effort was to secure the Mormon vote without putting themselves on record as polygamists, the same old lingering policy that was always exhibited by them, when any great moral question or the suppression of any great wrong was before the government. But the Republican resolution of 1880, "Polygamy in the territories must die," was too strong for any successful antagonism; and the opposition did not dare to defend polygamy *per se*, but entrenched themselves behind a claim for "liberty of conscience!" Thus this heathen and inhuman custom has been apologized for in Congress by Democratic orators as a matter of "conscience." No crime against humanity or the rights of others can be a matter of conscience. No immorality can be supported by conscience. No corruptions of society can be screened by a pretense of religion. God, in what is regarded by most people as the divine legislation of Moses, gave no sanction to this monstrous evil, nor are the few violations of God's original and only law recorded in the Bible, any apology or excuse for an attempt to open such a cancerous fungus upon our American civilization.

It is refreshing to every lover of virtue and of liberty to see the clear, ringing utterances of that grand convention of Republicans at Chicago, "That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted

should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.”

This puts the question fairly at issue. Awaking to the gravity of the occasion, a National Platform demands that this defiant band of fanatics who have for twenty-five years cursed the government and perverted the scriptures, shall at last be held amenable to the judgment of the enlightened world, and that laws in harmony with the genius of our free institutions shall be enforced regardless of the hypocritical claim of liberty of conscience where there can be no conscience!

It is a burning shame that the right of the Government to suppress polygamy has ever been called in question. The right of a State to suppress it is admitted on all hands. And shall we conclude that the Nation is powerless in its territory where a State might act? Shall we continue the absurd play of tolerating customs on our borders, which all admit to be wrong, on the plea of lack of sovereign *State* authority? It is the old play over again—a State could not be coerced, because the Constitution had not specifically provided for it. Rebellion and polygamy were alike unseen evils when the Constitution was made. The Congress of the United States possesses the *inherent authority to do right* on all questions not already specifically determined by the Constitution of the United States.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST.

IN 1856 the Democratic party in its platform had “pledged” Government aid to the building of a railroad to the Pacific coast as a “necessity;” but when the Republican administration took hold of it, they threw themselves in its way by declaring the land grants a plundering of the national domain, and the subsidies necessary to its construction, a theft of the people’s money.

However, under the liberal policy of the Republican party, by the completion of railways through our vast domain to the Pacific ocean, and the granting of homesteads to the hardy pioneers of civilization, the mountains have been tunneled, the cañons have been bridged, the wilderness made to blossom as the rose, and the rich mining regions brought into living connection with the pulses of the commercial world. America has reason to be grateful to that party under whose parental hand the heart of the continent has been reached by postal, telegraphic and railway communication; while the hardy sons of the Slavonic tribes, fleeing from the inhospitable surroundings of their native land, have been added to the broad prairies and fertile banks along the great Missouri. Large as the investment seems by which these grand results have been accomplished, no lover of his country and his race can doubt that it has repaid into the treasury and into the sum of national happiness and prosperity a thousand fold. Within the twenty-five years of Republican rule the wand of progress has waved into existence civilized governments over a territory equaling the domain of the German Empire.

No better guarantee for the people can be given than the prompt and substantial aid which the Government has given to them and their interests in the development of the great West.

CHAPTER XV.

PARTY TRADITIONS.

THE Republican party holds to-day all the principles of liberty, justice and equality advocated by the fathers. Eighty-three years ago Thomas Jefferson said, in his statement of the "essential principles," as he was pleased to call them, in his inaugural address: "Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political. * * * The support of the State governments in all their rights. * * * The preservation of the general Government in all its constitutional vigor. * * * A JEALOUS CARE OF THE RIGHT OF ELECTION BY THE PEOPLE. * * * *Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority.* * * * The honest payment of our debts, and the sacred preservation of the public faith." * * * Sentences which may be almost duplicated to-day from any leading Republican speech, and in perfect accord with the policy and faith of the present Republican party.

On the occasion of the accession of Louisiana by treaty from France, the doctrine of national sovereignty was clearly expressed by Senator Taylor, of Virginia, speaking, as it was understood, with the approbation of President Jefferson, whose friend he was. "Before the confederation," said Senator Taylor, "each State was independent, and possessed the right attached to an independent sovereignty to acquire territory by war, purchase, or treaty. This right must now either be still possessed, or forbidden both to each State and the general Government; or transferred to the general Government. * * * The means of acquiring and the right of holding territory, the territory

having been given up to the United States, and prohibited to each State, it follows that these attributes of sovereignty, once held by each State, are thus lodged in the United States."

No Republican has clearer views of this matter to-day than those above quoted. The objections to the sovereignty of the Nation, that it endangered the rights of the States, had been wisely guarded against by the fact that the people had been recognized as the fountain of power, and the entire Congress, with the President, made elective. So the remedy for any abuse of power is in the hands of the people.

The alien and sedition laws having been repealed, the question of extending the liberties of our land and the protection of our laws to the newly-acquired citizens of Louisiana was triumphantly carried into effect. It remained for President Jefferson's administration to compel Great Britain to renounce the doctrine of "impressment," as the capturing and reducing to involuntary servitude in the English navy those who had been her subjects, though now recognized by the United States as subjects, was called. These three steps were in the direct development of the sovereign power of the Nation that it might thereby conserve the interests of liberty and humanity; and their successful accomplishment under Mr. Jefferson's administration left him without a superior in popularity among the older Presidents, if indeed it has ever been equaled.

It would not be difficult to trace the thread of Republicanism down to the formation of the old Whig party, in which many of the best elements of Republicanism were preserved. Indeed, some have been inclined to trace by its principles the Republican party back under different names and organizations. This doubtless could be done, and may yet be referred to again in this book; but the Republican party while true to the Constitution of the fathers, and the best traditions of the government, stands not on

these alone. It has been called to meet and crush the most gigantic rebellion, when its intelligence and courage are taken into account, known to any age or country. It therefore has not only been called to battle for interpretations of the Constitution, and policies of administration, but to uphold in war and in peace that sacred organic compact itself. The Republican party, therefore, while approving the glorious traditions of the best school of American politics plants itself on its own immediate record, and says proudly, in the language of the platform of 1880: "It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner stone! It transformed four million human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper money from thirty-eight per cent to the par value of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the Nation from the point where six per cent bonds sold at eighty-six, to where four per cents are eagerly sought at a premium. Under its administrations railways have increased from thirty-one thousand miles in 1860 to more than eighty thousand in 1880. Our foreign trade has increased from seven hundred millions to eleven hundred and fifty millions in the same time; and our exports, which were twenty millions less than our imports in 1860, were two hundred and sixty-four million dollars more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of the government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually more than thirty

million dollars for soldiers' pensions. It has paid eight hundred and eighty-eight million dollars of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at a lower rate, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly one hundred and fifty-one million dollars to less than eighty-nine million dollars. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we ever enjoyed. Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people."

CHAPTER XVI.

A FREE BALLOT AND A FAIR COUNT.

NO party issue has been stronger within the last decade than the Republican demand, "A free ballot and a fair count." In many, if not all, of the Gulf States, there has been a persistent effort to override the constitutional amendments by what is known as the "shot-gun policy." A people defeated in war and chafing under the new order of things, find it to their ideas of propriety to debar by force that portion of the population which in their judgment ought to have been excluded from the rights of citizenship.

If there is any one thing in which the very existence of our free institutions is now involved, it is this question of the purity of the ballot-box. One of the most distinguished citizens of the Republic has well said, "The Republican party should never be beaten until every man who counts, or represents those who count, in the enumeration to give representation in the Electoral College, can cast his vote just as he pleases, and have it counted just as he cast it." This is the sentiment of the Republican party to-day. In their national platform, 1880, they resolved that, "Whatever promises the Nation makes, the Nation must perform; and the Nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression; and to this end honest voters must be protected against violence, terrorism and fraud."

The situation has not changed, nor have the principles of the parties changed since the above utterance. The

southern Democrats with their claim of State sovereignty and white superiority as to the rights of citizenship, would forever exclude, and have so far practically excluded the Negro from the benefits of the franchise conferred upon him by the constitutional amendments. Consequently, out of this question more than any other comes the revival of the old issue about the

AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The framers of the Republican platform in 1880 understood this thoroughly when they said, "The Nation cannot with safety relegate the fulfillment of its promises to the States." It is without question the duty of the Republican party to fulfill that which remains of its glorious mission. While the rights of any citizen are denied; while any one entitled to vote is prohibited with the connivance of local or State authorities, or while any State or community is unable to protect its citizens in the exercise of citizenship in its rights and privileges, the work of the Republican party is not ended. There are yet grand opportunities for so tempering and adjusting the machinery of government, that the humblest citizen of the Republic will be protected in his political rights. Without this our boasted Republic will eventually receive the execrations of mankind; her proud pillars will crumble, and desolation brood in her once magnificent halls.

While, doubtless, a few "repeaters" and occasional "sell outs" had disgraced themselves and the country, it remained for the Ku-Klux and the White Leaguers of the South to initiate a deliberate system of violence at the polls, by which whole parishes and even States were wrested from the majority; a precedent which, if permitted, would at once destroy any republic.

Perhaps we ought not to except the very general opinion that Henry Clay was counted out of, and Mr. Polk counted into, the Presidency in 1845; but that, if true, was

rascality without the additional crimes of murder and terrorism exercised at the South, and for the purpose of keeping Republicans out of office.

The campaign of 1876 was a fearful experience to many citizens of the United States. Telegraph wires were cut to prevent legal communication, trains were ku-kluxed, messengers representing the authority of the State were intercepted and driven from the post of duty. Organized bands of "Knights of the White Camelia," mounted, masked and armed, made day and night hideous, and spread terror among the people, many of whom were unarmed, and none prepared to resist the cut throats and murderers, whose only object was to prevent a free vote and a fair count at the ballot-box. A report from General Sheridan, who had investigated matters in Louisiana, written to the Secretary of War, and dated January 10, 1875, gives the number of those killed, within less than ten years, as nearly 3,000. He says: "From 1868 until the present time, no official investigation has been made. There is ample evidence, however, to show that more than 1,200 persons have been killed and wounded during this time, on account of their political sentiments." Many were captured, tagged with red flannel, led to the polls and compelled to vote the Democratic ticket; to these certificates of protection were given.

For all this no provision could be made by civil authority, as those entrusted with the execution of law were either unable or unwilling to do it. The "Returning Boards" were judges only of the work that came before them in the shape of returns from the parishes and counties. In this distress the Republicans in the terrorized districts sometimes invoked the aid of United States Marshals. These, in some instances, had need of the assistance of the military in those sections where mob violence had run rampant. Consequently a great howl was raised about "troops at the polls." It did not comport with the extreme "States

Rights" view which denies to the government the right to protect its citizens inside of State lines, without the special permit of the State. By this ingenuous device the corrupt and still rebellious element of the South attempted to bulldoze the majorities in half a dozen States into abject servitude, and nothing prevented their success but the vigor of a Republican Congress, which asserted its right to see a "free ballot," at least when Congressmen, who in a sense are National officers, were to be elected. The Democratic press of the North complained, but the work went forward, and though not complete, it doubtless stayed the rush of violence at the polls ere it reached flood tide.

Many issues will, doubtless, be sprung during the impending campaign—the tariff, civil service reform, internal improvements, and others—but the living issue in American politics to-day is the individual liberty of the citizen *at the polls*, and the purity of the ballot-box after it has passed into the hands of the officials. The balance of power may eventually render any sectional effort helpless; but at this time there is danger that the fate of the nation may for a time be directed by its worst enemies, whose lease of power shall come from the turbulence and violence which triumph over innocence and the right.

The Republican party is slowly but surely accomplishing its grand work. The enemies of the government have battered themselves to pieces, while the Republican party stood as a great protecting wall against which the waves were powerless.

There is just one thing really essential to the preservation of a true Republic, and that is that *every citizen* shall be protected *in his political rights*. This is the first great duty of the government, without which all else is but a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. For the accomplishment of this crowning glory of the Nation the Republican party stands fully pledged. As surely as the

waters run into the sea will this grand result be accomplished by the continuance of that policy which, with unbroken determination, has passed from administration to administration for the last twenty-four years.

The South is indeed the land of the magnolia and the mocking bird, where the breezes from the storm-tossed gulf kiss from the brow the heat of a tropical sun! But she needs the refining processes of that higher culture which inspires the human heart with reverence for liberty and a just regard for the rights of the meanest of God's creatures. When her States have attained this, the cup of her joy shall indeed be full. Her final salvation lies in the direction of a broader culture and the shield of protection to every man, woman and child in their citizenship with all that citizenship implies.

The Republican party had its origin in the organization of an earnest protest against the aggressions of the slave power; its greatest achievements have been in the interest of freedom and equal rights. The highest and most important duty now devolving upon it is to secure to every voter in this land a free and fair election and an honest count of the ballots. Public opinion should be aroused from end to end of this country against all manner of election frauds. For the Republican party to emancipate and enfranchise the Negro race, and then finally abandon them to outrage and fraud at the hands of their old masters, would be an act so inconsistent with principle and duty that one cannot believe it will occur.

Where the State neglects to protect these rights the Nation must step in and assert the high constitutional prerogative of the whole people, and by appropriate legislation secure a republican form of government. The record of the Democracy is entirely consistent. Believing in the divine origin of slavery, they fought for its extension and perpetuation, opposed emancipation, the granting of civil rights and the ballot, endeavored to re-enslave the

Negro by labor and vagrancy laws, and have deprived him of his vote by intimidation, murder and fraud. The record of the Republican party will be consistent when it secures to the Negro by law the rights it won for him with the sword.

The heroic era in our politics has passed. It was filled with startling and dramatic incidents and grand events, and bristled with new questions of immense importance. The Republican party was during that period entrusted by the people with the duty of legislation; every question was met with courage and settled with wisdom. The great constitutional and legislative measures of the Republican party have stood the test of time. They have been tried in the crucible of public opinion. Six times since the election of Lincoln have the people of the United States at presidential elections placed the seal of their approbation upon the Republican party. The past, therefore, by the deliberate judgment of this great people, stands approved. The Republican party maintained the affirmative, and was right; the Democratic party occupied the negative, and was wrong. These two parties have not changed positions; each has moved forward upon its own line of thought, and while the conflict of opinion is less angry and bitter to-day than in times past, it is none the less determined and irreconcilable. All the great issues of the war have been settled, and wisely settled, by the Republican party; they cannot be reopened, and they can be properly brought into the arena of debate now only for the purpose of comparing the record of parties.

The conflict of opinions upon these material interests will constitute the issues between political parties. To deal with these questions wisely will require our best statesmanship. It therefore becomes important for the people to consider whether it is to their interest to retire the Republican party and place the Democratic party in control.

What valid reason can be assigned for a change? Will

the Democratic party suppress violence and fraud at elections? Will it give you a better currency? Will wages be advanced? Will the value of farm products, and of flocks and herds be increased by Democratic tariff legislation? Will investments be more secure and productive than now? Will education be more surely promoted? Will it be wisdom in a prosperous and contented people to jeopardize their material interests by placing in power the Democratic party, which is pledged to the repeal of those laws which an experience of over twenty years has proven to be beneficial to all the great productive, commercial, and financial interests of the country? You know what the Republican party has done. It has given you good laws and honest administration, it has advanced liberty and equal rights. Every page of our history since '61 is emblazoned with the record of its achievements both in war and peace. It will establish the reign of law; and it will continue to advance the progressive civilization of this great American people.

PART THIRD.

REPUBLICAN^{AND} DEMOCRATIC
PLATFORMS.

FROM 1856 TO THE PRESENT,

ALSO STATISTICS SHOWING

THE

PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY

OF

THE COUNTRY

UNDER

REPUBLICAN RULE.

Republican and Democratic Platforms.

1856.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM,

Adopted at Cincinnati, June 6.

Resolved, That the American democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as a great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates, assembled in general convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and re-assert, before the American people, the declaration of principles avowed by them, when, on former occasions, in general convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

1. That the federal government is one of limited power, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several states, contracted for local and internal improvements or other state purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish

the interests of one portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and a complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence and foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government and gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution, and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of this country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and will of the people; and the results of the democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable to the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical dominion of the bank of the United States and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens

and owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

AND WHEREAS, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in national conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively Americans, and it is proper that the American democracy should clearly define its relations thereto; and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called:

Resolved, That the foundation of this union of states having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion and pre-eminent example in free government built upon, entire freedom of matters of religious concernment, and no respect of persons in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth-place. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlightened freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the states—

1. That Congress has no power under the constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that all such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress, and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures, settled by the Congress of

1850—"the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopts these principles as constituting one the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, north and south, to the constitution and the Union—

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery which seek to embroil the states and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the territories, and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question, upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union, and non-interference of Congress with slavery in the territories or in the District of Columbia.

2. That this was the basis of the compromise of 1850, confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions, ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of the territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of the democratic principles to the organization of territories and the admission of new states, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the states will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American state that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other states.

Resolved, finally, That in view of the condition of the popular institutions in the old world (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land), a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every state, and thereby the Union of the states, and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expression of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country, which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other states of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine. Their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction, and should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of states most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, in the unconquerable energy of our people; and that result would be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it; and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with relations that may suit our policy to estab-

lish between our government and the governments of the states within whose dominions its lies; we can under no circumstances surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-oceanic isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our western valleys and of the Union at large.

6. *Resolved*, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratic principles, and therefore true to the great interests of the country; in the face of violent opposition, he has maintained the laws at home and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad, and, therefore, we proclaim our unqualified admiration of his measures and policy.

1856.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,

Adopted at Philadelphia, June 17.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free state, of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the federal constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the federal constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our Republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to

life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our federal government were, to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the constitution of the United States was ordained and established, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed, as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies and arsons have been instigated or encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and

procurement of the present national administration; and that for this high crime against the constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a state of the Union with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations of Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all proscriptive legislation affecting their security.

1860.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,

Chicago, May 17.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the states this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea,

through the intervention of Congress and of the federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the federal government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent—is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that “no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,” it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory in the United States.

9. That we brand the recent re-opening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their federal governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a state under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an

adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any state legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligations of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean is imperatively demanded by the interest of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

1860.—DEMOCRATIC (DOUGLAS) PLATFORM,

Charleston, April 23, and Baltimore, June 18.

1. *Resolved*, That we, the democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimately adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied

to the same subject-matters; and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following:

Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the territories:

2. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.

3. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. *Resolved*, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific states; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

6. *Resolved*, That the enactments of state legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

7. *Resolved*, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the territorial governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the federal constitution on the power of the territorial legislature over the subject of domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, shall be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general government.

1860.—DEMOCRATIC (BRECKINRIDGE) PLATFORM,

Charleston and Baltimore.

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with following explanatory resolutions:

1. That the government of a territory, organized by an act of Congress, is provisional and temporary; and, during its existence, all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle, with their

property, in the territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by congressional or territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty of the federal government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a territory having an adequate population, form a state constitution in pursuance of law, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other states, and the state thus organized ought to be admitted into the federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

4. That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

5. That the enactments of state legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

6. That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

WHEREAS, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

1864.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,

Baltimore, June 7.

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain, against all their enemies, the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinions, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment

and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an "unconditional surrender" of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions.

Resolved, That, as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend

the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment, as Union soldiers, of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these, and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country, into full and complete effect.

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

Resolved, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war; and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

Resolved, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate; and that, for this purpose, we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the western continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this, our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by a foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

1864.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM,

Chicago, August 29.

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the constitution, as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a frame-work of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the states, both northern and southern.

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity of a war power higher than the constitution, the constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of all the states.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authority of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the constitution; and the repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the states unimpaired; and that they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the constitution, the subversion of the civil by the military law in states not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in states where civil law exists in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of state rights, the employment of unusual test-oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow citizens who now are, and long have been, prisoners of war, in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation, on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiers of our army and the sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on sea under the flag of their country; and, in the event of our attaining power, they will receive all the care and protection, regard and kindness, that the brave soldiers of the republic have so nobly earned.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

January 1, 1863.

WHEREAS, On the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things the following, to-wit: "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom; that the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the states, and parts of states, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any state, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such states shall have participated shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such state, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States":

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States in time of actual armed

rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war-measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the states, and parts of states, wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to-wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre-Bonne, Lafourche, Ste. Marie, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anna, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued. And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare, that all persons held as slaves within said designated states, and parts of states, are and henceforward shall be, free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons. And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them, that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages. And I further declare and make known, that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service. And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

1868.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,

Chicago, May 20.

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evidenced by the adoption, in the majority of the states lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the government to sustain those institutions and to prevent the people of such states from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the south was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal states properly belongs to the people of those states.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit, of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the

laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the states lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development and resources, and increase of power to this republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed people who are struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the southern state governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels, in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty shall die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal declaration of independence, as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

1868.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM,

New York, July 4.

The Democratic party, in national convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the government and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled, for all time to come, by the war or the voluntary action of the southern states in constitutional conventions assembled, and never to be revived or reargued, do, with the return of peace, demand:

1. Immediate restoration of all the states to their rights in the Union under the constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

2. Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the states by their citizens.

3. Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable—all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment; and where the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

4. Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including government bonds and other public securities.

5. One currency for the government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

6. Economy in the administration of the government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the freedmen's bureau, and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue; that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened, and the credit

of the government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the state militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufacturers, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage, the great industrial interests of, the country.

7. Reform of abuses in the administration; the expulsion of corrupt men from office; the abrogation of useless offices; the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the government; the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens, at home and abroad; the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights; and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crimes committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms, we arraign the radical party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career. After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the government and the preservation of the Union under the constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten states, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the *habeas corpus*, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions, for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded, in time of peace, the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters, without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law. It has converted the American capitol into a bastille; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to

which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort. It has abolished the right of appeal, on important constitutional questions, to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the constitution; while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history; and, by its frauds and monopolies, it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his constitutional power of appointment, even of his own cabinet. Under its repeated assaults, the pillars of the government are rocking on their base; and should it succeed in November next, and inaugurate its President, we will meet, as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the constitution.

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British crown, the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several states, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each state respectively; and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever to deprive any state of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the constitution, and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of government, and can end only in a single, centralized and consolidated government, in which the separate existence of the states will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a federal union of co-equal states. And that we regard the construction acts (so-called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary and void.

That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against the most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the government. When grants of public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the states and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people; and, on behalf of the Democratic party, we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this platform the Democratic party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative elements and all who desire to support the constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people, and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such, co-operating with us, as friends and brethren.

Resolved, That this convention sympathizes cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

Resolved, That the thanks of the convention are tendered to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase for the justice, dignity and impartiality with which he presided over the court of impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

1872.—LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,

Cincinnati, May 1.

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of these States, emancipation and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The

public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of person under the protection of the *habeas corpus*. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the state self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We, therefore, regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only valid claims to public employment; that the offices of the government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station shall become again a post of honor. To this end, it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

6. We demand a system of federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their congressional districts and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the republic; and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full rewards of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that it is the duty of the government, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to cultivate the friendships of peace, by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles and the support of the candidates nominated by this convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

1872.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM,

Baltimore, July 9.

We, the Democratic electors of the United States, in convention assembled, do present the following principles, already adopted at Cincinnati, as essential to just government:

[Here followed the "Liberal Republican platform" which see above.]

1872.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Philadelphia, June 5.

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country:

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted, with grand courage, the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion; emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved their loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased, with firm hand, the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a

year; great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably compromised, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the national constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be intrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate state and federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect to citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing; and we, therefore favor a reform of the system, by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal; and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are

entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and a way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor; and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violence and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and, therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by

them to the states and to the federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the state or national government.

17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people; and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the vice-presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

1872.—DEMOCRATIC (STRAIGHT-OUT) PLATFORM,

Louisville, Ky., September 3.

WHEREAS, A frequent recurrence to first principles, and eternal vigilance against abuses, are the wisest provisions for liberty, which is the source of progress and fidelity to our constitutional system and the only protection for either; therefore,

Resolved, That the original basis of our whole political structure is consent in every part thereof. The people of each state voluntarily created their state, and the states voluntarily formed the Union; and each state provided by its written Constitution for everything a state could do for the protection of life, liberty, and property within it; and each state, jointly with the others, provided a federal Union for foreign and inter-state relations.

Resolved, That all governmental powers, whether state or federal, are trust powers, coming from the people of each state, and that they are limited to the written letter of the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance of it, which powers must be exercised in the utmost good faith, the Constitution itself stating in what manner they may be altered and amended.

Resolved, That the interests of labor and capital should not be permitted to conflict, but should be harmonized by judicious legisla-

tion. While such a conflict continues, labor, which is the parent of wealth, is entitled to paramount consideration.

Resolved, That we proclaim to the world that principle is to be preferred to power; that the Democratic party is held together by the cohesion of time-honored principles, which they will never surrender in exchange for all the offices which Presidents can confer. The pangs of the minorities are doubtless excruciating; but we welcome an eternal minority, under the banner inscribed with our principles, rather than an almighty and everlasting majority purchased by their abandonment.

Resolved, That, having been betrayed at Baltimore into a false creed and a false leadership by the convention, we repudiate both, and appeal to the people to approve our platform, and to rally to the polls, and support the true platform and the candidates who embody it.

1876.—INDEPENDENT (GREENBACK) PLATFORM,

Indianapolis, Ind., May 17.

The Independent party is called into existence by the necessities of the people, whose industries are prostrated, whose labor is deprived of its just reward by a ruinous policy which the Republican and Democratic parties refuse to change; and, in view of the failure of these parties to furnish relief to the depressed industries of the country, thereby disappointing the just hopes and expectations of the suffering people, we declare our principles, and invite all independent and patriotic men to join our ranks in this movement for financial reform and industrial emancipation.

1. We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the specie resumption act of January 14, 1875, and the rescue of our industries from ruin and disaster resulting from its enforcement; and we call upon all patriotic men to organize in every congressional district of the country, with a view of electing representatives to Congress who will carry out the wishes of the people in this regard and stop the present suicidal and destructive policy of contraction.

2. We believe that a United States note, issued directly by the government, and convertible, on demand, into United States obligations, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding one cent a day on each one hundred dollars, and exchangeable for United States notes at par, will afford the best circulating medium ever devised. Such United States notes should be full legal tenders for all purposes, except for the payment of such obligations as are, by existing con-

tracts, especially made payable in coin; and we hold that it is the duty of the government to provide such a circulating medium, and insist, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that "bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulation restored to the nation, to whom it belongs."

3. It is the paramount duty of the government, in all its legislation, to keep in view the full development of all legitimate business, agricultural, mining, manufacturing and commercial.

4. We most earnestly protest against any further issue of gold bonds for sale in foreign markets, by which we would be made, for a long period, "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to foreigners, especially as the American people would gladly and promptly take at par all bonds the government may need to sell, provided they are made payable at the option of the holder, and bearing interest at 3.65 per cent per annum, or even a lower rate.

5. We further protest against the sale of government bonds for the purpose of purchasing silver to be used as a substitute for our more convenient and less fluctuating fractional currency, which, although well calculated to enrich owners of silver mines, yet in operation it will still further oppress, in taxation, an already overburdened people.

1876.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 14.

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unflinching courage, hope and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a Nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and state governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain

inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the southern section of the Union, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested, by those amendments, in the Congress of the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the national government assumed to remove any doubt of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concern-

ing political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several states is the bulwark of the American Republic; and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures, and the obligations of the public debt, must be largely derived from duties upon importations which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native-born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes, with approval, the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican Legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities, should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government; and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those

who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We, therefore, note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united south, secured through the efforts of those who were but recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife, and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the Nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding, in the national capitol, the sentiments of unrepentent rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the Lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

18. We present, as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to entrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

1876.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM,

St. Louis, Mo., June 27.

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the federal government to be in urgent need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention, and

of the Democratic party in each State, a zealous effort and co-operation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake, with us, this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

For the Democracy of the whole country, we do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the federal Union, our devotion to the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of Republican self government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the total separation of church and state, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy, and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope—we behold the noblest product of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of our Union and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the Union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of states, but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten states the rapacity of carpet-bag tyranny, has honey-combed the offices of the federal government itself with incapacity, waste, and fraud; infected states and municipalities with the contagion of misrule; and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of “hard times.”

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal-tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people, in federal taxes, thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party

which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but, instead, has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation, by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and of its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment. We believe such a system, well devised, and, above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating, at no time, an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent of all business transactions are performed. A system open, public, and inspiring general confidence, would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries—set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts—restore employment to labor—and renew, in all its natural sources, the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising, revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—federal, state, and municipal. Our federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions currency, in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold,

in 1860, to seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870—or, in one decade, from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace, the people have paid to their tax-gatherers more than thrice the sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the federal government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands, and their diversion from actual settlers, by the party in power, which has squandered two hundred millions of acres upon railroads alone, and, out of more than thrice that aggregate, has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omission of a Republican Congress, and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race, recrossing the Atlantic, of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren on the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now, by law, denied citizenship through naturalization, as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women, imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men, held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it:

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belongs exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain, without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the governmental business is not pos-

sible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition. Here, again, promises, falsified in the performance, attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary, even more, in the higher grades of the public service. President, vice-president, judges, senators, representatives, cabinet officers—these, and all others in authority—are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust. When the annals of this republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched, or enriching friends, by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an ambassador to England concerned in a dishonorable speculation; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete, that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs and crimes—the product of sixteen years' ascendancy of the Republican party—create a necessity for reform, confessed by the Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the eighty thousand office-holders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

Resolved, That this convention, representing the Democratic party of the United States, do cordially indorse the action of the present House of Representatives, in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal Government, in cutting down salaries and extravagant

appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessities; and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

1878.—NATIONAL PLATFORM,

Toledo, Ohio, February 22.

WHEREAS, Throughout our entire country the value of real estate is depreciated, industry paralyzed, trade depressed, business incomes and wages reduced, unparalleled distress inflicted upon the poorer and middle ranks of our people, the land filled with fraud, embezzlement, bankruptcy, crime, suffering, pauperism and starvation; and

WHEREAS, This state of things has been brought about by legislation in the interest of, and dictated by, money-lenders, bankers and bondholders; and,

WHEREAS, While we recognize the fact that the men in Congress connected with the old political parties have stood up manfully for the rights of the people, and met the threats of the money power, and the ridicule of an ignorant and subsidized press, yet neither the Republican nor the Democratic party, in their policies, propose remedies for the existing evils; and

WHEREAS, The Independent Greenback party, and other associations, more or less effective, have been unable, hitherto, to make a formidable opposition to old party organizations; and

WHEREAS, The limiting of the legal-tender quality of the greenbacks, the changing of currency bonds into coin bonds, the demonetization of the silver dollar, the exempting of bonds from taxation, the contraction of the circulating medium, the proposed forced resumption of specie payments, and the prodigal waste of the public lands, were crimes against the people; and, as far as possible, the results of these criminal acts must be counteracted by judicious legislation, therefore,

We assemble in national convention and make a declaration of our principles, and invite all patriotic citizens to unite in an effort to secure financial reform and industrial emancipation. The organization shall be known as the "National Party," and under this name we

will perfect, without delay, national, state and local associations, to secure the election to office of such men only as will pledge themselves to do all in their power to establish these principles:

1. It is the exclusive function of the general government to coin and create money and regulate its value. All bank issues designed to circulate as money should be suppressed. The circulating medium, whether of metal or paper, shall be issued by the government, and made a full legal-tender for all debts, duties and taxes in the United States, at its stamped value.

2. There shall be no privileged class of creditors. Official salaries, pensions, bonds, and all other debts and obligations, public and private, shall be discharged in the legal-tender money of the United States, strictly according to the stipulations of the laws under which they were contracted.

3. The coinage of silver shall be placed on the same footing as that of gold.

4. Congress shall provide said money adequate to the full employment of labor, the equitable distribution of its products, and the requirements of business, fixing a minimum amount *per capita* of the population, as near as may be, and otherwise regulating its value by wise and equitable provisions of law, so that the rate of interest will secure to labor its just reward.

5. It is inconsistent with the genius of popular government that any species of private property should be exempt from bearing its proper share of the public burdens. Government bonds and money should be taxed precisely as other property, and a graduated income tax should be levied for the support of the government and the payment of its debts.

6. Public lands are the common property of the whole people, and should not be sold to speculators nor granted to railroads or other corporations, but should be donated to actual settlers, in limited quantities.

7. The government should, by general enactments, encourage the development of our agricultural, mineral, mechanical, manufacturing and commercial resources, to the end that labor may be fully and profitably employed; but no monopolies should be legalized.

8. All useless offices should be abolished, the most rigid economy favored in every branch of the public service, and severe punishment inflicted upon public officers who betray the trusts imposed in them.

9. As educated labor has devised means for multiplying production by inventions and discoveries, and as their use requires the exercise of mind as well as of body, such legislation should be had that

the number of hours of daily toil will be reduced, giving to the working classes more leisure for mental improvement and their several enjoyments, and saving them from premature decay and death.

10. The adoption of an American monetary system, as proposed herein, will harmonize all differences in regard to tariff and federal taxation, reduce and equalize the cost of transportation by land and water, distribute equitably the joint earnings of capital and labor, secure to the producers of wealth the results of their labor and skill, and muster out of service the vast army of idlers, who, under the existing system, grow rich upon the earnings of others, that every man and woman may, by his own efforts, secure a competency, so that overgrown fortunes and extreme poverty will be seldom found within the limits of our republic.

11. Both national and state governments should establish bureaus of labor and industrial statistics, clothed with the power of gathering and publishing the same.

12. That the contract system of employing labor in our prisons and reformatory institutions works great injustice to our mechanics and artisans, and should be prohibited.

13. The importation of servile labor into the United States from China is a problem of the most serious importance, and we recommend legislation looking to its suppression.

14. We believe in the supremacy of law over and above all perishable material, and in the necessity of a party of united people that will rise above old party lines and prejudices. We will not affiliate in any degree with any of the old parties, but, in all cases and localities, will organize anew, as united national men—nominate for office and official positions only such persons as are clearly believers in and identified with this our sacred cause; and, irrespective of creed, color, place of birth, or past condition of political or other servitude, vote only for men who entirely abandon old party lines and organizations.

1880.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,

Chicago, Ill., June 2.

The Republican party, in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the federal government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States its brief report of its administration:

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of

men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the states with freedom, instead of slavery, as its corner-stone. It transformed four million of human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist.

It has raised the value of our paper currency from thirty-eight per cent to the par of gold. It has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where six per cent bonds sold at eighty-six to that where four per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860, to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.

Our foreign trade has increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,150,000,000 in the same time; and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government, besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed, annually, over \$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000.

All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record, the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people; and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved, through immense difficulties, should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the dissevered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted, undiminished, to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof;

that the reviving industries should be further promoted; and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract; out of confederate states it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to states; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not by the state tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several states, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence of the several states; and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one state, but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion; but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influences of sectarianism while each state is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each state, to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the states, its twin barbarity—polygamy—must die in the territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to citizens of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption; that we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory—to do them perpetual honor is, and shall forever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and its treaty-making powers, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of that power to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the early career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to select him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as chief executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interposition between the people and proposed partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage. That to obtain possession of the national and state governments, and the control of place and position, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage; have devised fraudulent certifications and returns; have labored to unseat lawfully-elected members of Congress, to secure, at all hazards, the vote of a majority of the states in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy, by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courageous action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movements of governments depend; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principle and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. Equal, steady, and complete enforcement of the laws, and protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the constitution, are the first duties of the nation. The danger of a solid South can only be averted by the faithful performance of every promise which the nation made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured, and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes, the nation must perform; and the nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the states. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression; and to this end honest voters must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the states of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be practicable; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of

the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country, at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence and hope.

9. The Republican party, adhering to a principle affirmed by its last national convention, of respect for the constitutional rule covering appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service; and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment.

1880.—NATIONAL (GREENBACK) PLATFORM,

Chicago, Ill., June 9.

The civil government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort, and facilities for mental, social, and moral culture; and we condemn, as unworthy of our civilization, the barbarism which imposes upon wealth producers a state of drudgery as the price of a bare animal existence. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power, by the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence. The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money, cheap labor, and a strong government, and hence, a weak people. Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes, of an unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital, endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce; and the scarcity of money enforces debt-trade, and public and corporate loans; debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower. Other results are—deranged markets, uncertainty in manufacturing

enterprises and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism. Therefore, we declare:

1. That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power, to be maintained by the people for their common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, and conferring upon a subordinate and irresponsible power an absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued, and its volume controlled, by the government, and not by or through banking corporations; and, when so issued, should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private

2. That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as practicable, according to contract. To enable the government to meet these obligations, legal-tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the national banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

3. That labor should be so protected by national and state authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results. The eight hour law of Congress should be enforced, the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control, the competition of contract convict labor abolished, a bureau of labor statistics established, factories, mines and workshops inspected, the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

4. Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty.

5. Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the government, and henceforth the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

6. It is the duty of Congress to regulate inter-state commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

7. We denounce as destructive to property and dangerous to liberty the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land,

railroad and money corporations, and monopolies invested with and exercising powers belonging to the government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise.

8. That the Constitution in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldiers and sailors who periled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defense of their country; and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him and in favor of the bondholder.

9. All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

10. We denounce as dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

11. We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

12. We demand absolute Democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

13. We demand a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a government of the bondholder, by the bondholder, and for the bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

14. In the furtherance of these ends we ask the co-operation of all fairminded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war on classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the press and machinery of government, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions, and over life and property.

1880.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM,

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 22.

The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled, declare:

1. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and examples of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last national convention of the party.

2. Opposition to centralization, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism; no sumptuary laws; separation of the church and state for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

3. Home rule; honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper, convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, state and national; and a tariff for revenue only; the subordination of the military to the civil power; and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

4. The right to a free ballot is a right preservative of all rights; and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

5. The existing administration is the representative of a conspiracy only; and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the elections, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insults the people and imperils their institutions. We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime; and demand a reform, by statute, which shall make it forever impossible for a defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

6. The great fraud of 1876-7, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two states, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government. The Democratic party, to preserve the country from the horrors of a civil war, submitted for the time, in the firm and patriotic belief that the people would punish the crime in 1880. This issue precedes and dwarfs every other. It imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the consciences of a nation of freemen.

7. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden, not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with deep sensibility; and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism and integrity unshaken by the assaults of the common enemy; and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standard of the public morality, and adorning and purifying the public service, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

8. Free ships, and a living chance for American commerce upon the seas; and on the land, no discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

9. Amendments of the Burlingame treaty; no more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and, therein, carefully guarded.

10. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

11. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

12. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditure \$10,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad; and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the government as shall insure a genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

1884.—NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,

Chicago, June 5.

The Republicans of the United States, in National Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens.

The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men, for a united Nation, assuring the rights of all citizens, for the elevation of labor, for an honest currency, for purity in legislation and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform. We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and peace had endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognise a wise, conservative and patriotic policy under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the labor or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural inter-

est, for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our working-men in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

Reform of the Civil Service auspiciously begun under Republican administration should be completed by the further extension of the reformed system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual

settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-residents, aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the condition of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to provide suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Areas act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of the application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—the policy which seeks peace and can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce; and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona-fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a Nation and not a mere confederacy of States. The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained. Each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of

our system of government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, and honest count and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence. We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race or color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

1884.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Chicago, July 10, 1884.

The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that as the nation grows older new issues are born of time and progress and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voices of the people, remain, and will ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States; and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enable a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers.

This is now the condition of the country. Hence a change is

demanded. The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence; in practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

Therefore, a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers who had bargained for unlawful profits or for high office.

The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen and its bought tenures of power has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity.

Its platform promises are now a list of past failures.

It demands the restoration of our navy. It has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist.

It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed. It has imposed and has continued those burdens.

It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers. It has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas.

It professes a preference for free institutions. It organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops.

It professes a desire to elevate labor. It has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor.

It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans. It left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions.

It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff. It created and has continued them. Its own Tariff Commission confessed the need of more than twenty per cent reduction. Its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent.

It professes the protection of American manufactures. It has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a

hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials.

It professes to protect all American industries. It has impoverished many to subsidize a few.

It professes the protection of American labor. It has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people.

It professes the equality of all men before the law. Attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress were over-set by the decisions of its courts.

It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform." Its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honey-combed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its counsels or a veto upon bad nominations.

That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the Administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the Nation to its creditors and pensioners.

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely on legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice.

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical

government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government, economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as the "Internal Revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided; and any surplus should be paid into the treasury.

We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion—religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count; and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls as the conclusive

proof that a Democratic Administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty; we favor honest civil-service reform and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of church and State; and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should, therefore, be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party, should be restored to the public domain; and that no more grants of land should be made to corporations, or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the general government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States, or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this government

to protect, with equal fidelity and vigilance, the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad; and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own government and by all foreign powers.

It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof.

An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration; that policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain.

Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy.

Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the Stars and Stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry.

Under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates, and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races

of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty, and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in Old-World monarchies—their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace—Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy.

Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics—acquiescence in the will of the majority—that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and falling strength.

Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares not only our respectful sympathy and esteem but also that best homage of free-men—the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles, and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

COMMENTS ON THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Republican platform adopted by the convention on the fifth of June, is courageous, outspoken and unequivocal in its character. There is nothing in it that can be called two-faced. It takes direct issue with the Democrats on many important questions, and inaugurates the Presidential campaign in a clear tone of confidence and explicit avowals of purpose. Such qualities as these will command the attention and admiration of the American people. There is no trimming of the platform, no compromises, no weak evasions, no planks that say one thing and mean another. It is, moreover, a platform that is applicable to the candidates, being a Blaine platform in all its leading features, not only expressing his sentiments, but also his character.

Bi-metalism is endorsed as a true monetary system on the basis of an international standard which shall fix the relative value of gold and silver coinage. This is undoubtedly the true solution of the money question as well as the aim of the leading thinkers, both in Europe and America on this subject.

The declaration in favor of the constitutional power of Congress to regulate inter-state commerce, and the practical exercise of such power to prevent excessive charges and unjust discrimination by the railroads is received with much favor. The labor interests of the country are given full recognition and hearty consideration; and the earnest pledges to go on with the work of civil-service reform is entitled to special commendation, since under the impulse and direction of the Republican party, the work has already been inaugurated. The reservation of the public domain for small holdings by actual settlers, and the protection of it from corporation greed, is a sentiment which will find a universal response from the people. Altogether, the platform may be regarded as a most vigorous and well-written exposition of the Republican doctrine.

POLITICAL STATISTICS

COMPILED FROM

OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

RANK OF STATES, WITH DIVISIONS OF POPULATION.

STATE AND RANK IN THE UNION.	Population.	Males. Females.	Native. Foreign.	White. Colored.
1 New York.....	5,083,810	2,506,283 2,577,527	3,872,372 1,211,438	5,017,116 66,694
2 Pennsylvania.....	4,282,786	2,136,635 2,146,151	3,695,253 587,533	4,197,106 85,680
3 Ohio.....	3,198,239	1,614,165 1,584,074	2,803,469 394,743	3,118,344 79,895
4 Illinois.....	3,078,769	1,587,433 1,491,336	2,495,177 583,592	3,032,174 46,595
5 Missouri.....	2,168,804	1,127,424 1,041,380	1,957,564 111,240	2,023,568 145,236
6 Indiana.....	1,978,362	1,010,676 967,686	1,834,597 143,765	1,939,094 39,268
7 Massachusetts.....	1,783,012	858,475 924,537	1,339,919 443,093	1,764,004 19,008
8 Kentucky.....	1,648,708	832,676 816,032	1,589,237 59,471	1,377,187 271,521
9 Michigan.....	1,636,331	862,276 774,055	1,247,985 388,346	1,614,078 22,253
10 Iowa.....	1,624,620	848,234 776,386	1,363,132 261,488	1,614,666 9,954
11 Texas.....	1,592,574	838,719 753,855	1,478,058 114,516	1,197,499 395,075
12 Tennessee.....	1,542,463	769,374 773,089	1,525,881 16,582	1,139,120 403,343
13 Georgia.....	1,539,048	761,184 777,864	1,528,733 10,315	814,251 724,797
14 Virginia.....	1,512,806	745,839 766,967	1,498,139 14,667	880,981 631,825
15 North Carolina.....	1,400,047	688,203 711,844	1,396,368 3,679	867,478 532,569
16 Wisconsin.....	1,315,480	680,106 635,374	910,063 405,417	1,309,622 5,858
17 Alabama.....	1,262,794	622,890 639,904	1,253,121 9,673	662,328 600,466
18 Mississippi.....	1,131,592	567,137 564,455	1,122,429 9,168	479,371 652,221
19 New Jersey.....	1,130,983	559,823 571,160	909,098 221,585	1,091,947 39,036

Rank of States, with Divisions of Population—[Continued.]

STATE AND RANK IN THE UNION.	Population.	Males. Females.	Native. Foreign.	White. Colored.
20 Kansas	995,966	536,725 459,241	886,261 109,705	952,056 43,910
21 South Carolina....	995,622	490,469 505,153	987,981 7,641	391,224 604,338
22 Louisiana	940,103	468,853 471,270	885,964 54,139	455,007 485,096
23 Maryland	934,632	462,004 472,628	851,984 82,648	724,718 209,914
24 California.....	864,686	518,271 346,415	572,006 292,680	767,266 97,420
25 Arkansas	802,564	416,383 386,181	792,269 10,295	591,611 210,953
26 Minnesota.....	780,806	419,262 361,544	513,107 267,699	776,940 3,866
27 Maine	648,945	324,084 324,861	590,076 58,869	646,903 2,042
28 Connecticut	622,683	305,886 316,797	492,879 129,804	610,884 11,799
29 West Virginia. ...	618,443	314,479 303,964	600,214 18,229	592,606 25,837
30 Nebraska	452,433	249,275 203,158	355,043 97,390	449,806 2,627
31 New Hampshire...	346,984	170,575 176,409	300,961 46,023	346,264 720
32 Vermont.....	332,286	166,888 165,398	291,340 40,946	331,243 1,043
33 Rhode Island	276,528	133,033 143,495	202,598 73,930	269,931 6,597
34 Florida.....	267,351	135,393 131,958	257,631 9,720	141,832 125,519
35 Colorado	194,649	129,471 65,178	154,869 39,780	191,452 3,197
36 Dis't of Columbia..	177,638	83,594 94,044	160,523 17,115	118,236 59,402
37 Oregon.....	174,767	103,388 71,379	143,327 30,440	163,087 11,680
38 Delaware	146,654	74,153 72,501	137,182 9,472	120,198 26,456
39 Utah*	143,906	74,470 69,436	99,974 43,932	142,380 1,526
40 Dakota*.....	135,180	82,302 52,818	83,387 51,793	133,177 2,003
41 New Mexico*.....	118,430	63,751 54,679	108,498 9,932	108,127 10,303
42 Washington*.....	75,120	45,977 29,143	59,259 15,861	67,349 7,771
43 Nevada	62,265	42,013 20,252	36,623 25,642	53,574 8,691
44 Arizona*	40,441	28,202 12,239	24,419 15,022	35,178 5,263
45 Montana*	39,157	28,180 10,977	27,640 11,515	35,446 3,711
46 Idaho*	32,611	21,818 10,793	22,629 9,982	29,011 3,600
47 Wyoming*.....	20,788	14,151 6,637	14,943 5,845	19,436 1,352
* Territories. Totals	50,152,866	25,520,582 24,632,284	43,475,506 6,677,360	43,404,876 8,747,990

REVENUE LOSSES TO THE UNITED STATES.

Statement showing the Receipts and Disbursements of the Government from its Organization to June 30, 1879, and the amount of Losses, and the ratio of such Losses per \$1,000 to the aggregate Received and Disbursed, arranged as nearly as practicable in periods of Administrations.

ADMINISTRATION.	Term of Office—Years.	Total Receipts from Customs, Internal Revenue, Public Lands, Loans, Dividends, Interest, Premiums, Direct Tax, and Miscellaneous.		Losses on \$1,000.	Disbursements.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	Amount Involved.	Total Loss.	Loss on \$1,000.
		Receipts.	Losses.							
Washington	8	\$56,448,721	\$240,552	\$3 72	\$55,426,822	\$38,498	\$0 69	\$112,560,504	\$250,970	\$2 22
Adams, J.	4	46,085,418	42,250	91	43,811,926	190,950	4 35	90,753,612	235,412	2 59
Jefferson	8	108,238,978	287,260	2 65	107,686,312	303,834	2 82	219,072,736	603,468	2 75
Madison	8	266,246,515	294,975	1 10	255,405,106	1,855,447	7 27	526,764,050	2,191,660	4 16
Monroe	8	178,649,964	629,947	3 52	188,437,780	2,492,536	13 22	376,328,275	3,359,787	8 58
Adams, J. Q.	4	97,818,055	332,953	3 40	97,264,000	513,839	5 28	201,488,077	885,374	4 39
Jackson	4	255,182,775	1,412,388	5 53	223,516,050	2,306,237	10 31	500,081,748	3,761,112	7 52
Van Buren	4	123,918,349	392,328	3 01	137,094,438	2,899,654	21 15	285,327,949	3,343,792	11 71
Harrison	4	116,736,005	429,981	3 68	109,187,401	1,133,242	10 37	244,590,156	1,565,903	6 40
Tyler	2	201,857,508	18,110	08	205,194,701	1,712,170	8 34	428,913,687	1,722,851	4 08
Polk	4	211,908,613	276,279	1 30	194,570,493	1,485,193	7 64	432,861,677	1,814,409	4 19
Fillmore	4	282,179,830	213,002	75	285,638,876	1,674,853	5 86	608,257,816	2,167,982	3 56
Pierce	4	312,359,680	194,004	62	328,183,268	2,252,825	6 98	697,500,871	2,659,108	3 81
Buchanan	4	4,670,460,138	508,494	10	4,667,457,921	6,599,023	1 41	9,386,697,144	7,200,984	7 6
Lincoln	4	4,042,316,438	2,562,722	63	3,891,576,259	1,889,641	4 48	8,014,908,984	4,619,900	57
Johnson	4	5,318,698,324	1,189,140	22	5,287,604,646	1,138,541	21	10,842,922,583	2,622,479	8 24
Grant	4	1,728,679,967	none	none	1,557,034,964	1,384	00	3,353,629,856	2,677	10 m1
Hayes	2	18,024,115,418	8,964,375	49	17,624,620,963	28,527,858	1 61	36,317,639,725	38,887,568	1 07
Prior to June 30, 1861.	....	\$2,263,660,611	\$4,734,020	\$2 09	\$2,230,947,173	\$18,899,299	\$8 47	\$4,719,481,157	\$24,441,829	\$5 17
From July 1, '61, to June 30, 1879.	....	15,760,454,807	4,260,355	27	15,403,673,700	9,628,569	62	31,598,158,568	14,445,739	46

RECAPITULATION.*

*Total Disbursements on account of Public Debt, Premiums, War, Navy, Pensions, Interest, Indians and all civil expenses exclusive of Post Office, which receives and disburses its own revenues.

* Including all other amounts collected or disbursed, and the losses thereon.

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

NAME.	STATE.	CONGRESS.	TERM OF SERVICE.
F. A. Muhlenberg	Pennsylvania	1st Congress	April 1, 1789, to March 4, 1791
Jonathan Trumbull	Connecticut	2d	Oct. 24, 1791, to March 4, 1793
F. A. Muhlenberg	Pennsylvania	3d	Dec. 2, 1793, to March 4, 1795
Jonathan Dayton	New Jersey	4th	Dec. 7, 1795, to March 4, 1797
"	"	5th	May 15, 1797, to March 8, 1799
Theodore Sedgwick	Massachusetts	6th	Dec. 2, 1799, to March 4, 1801
Nathaniel Macon	North Carolina	7th	Dec. 7, 1801, to March 4, 1803
"	"	8th	Oct. 17, 1803, to March 4, 1805
"	"	9th	Dec. 2, 1805, to March 4, 1807
Joseph B. Varnum	Massachusetts	10th	Oct. 26, 1807, to March 4, 1809
"	"	11th	May 22, 1809, to March 4, 1811
Henry Clay	Kentucky	12th	Nov. 4, 1811, to March 4, 1813
"	"	13th	May 24, 1813, to Jan. 19, 1814
Langdon Cheves	South Carolina, second session.	13th	Jan. 19, 1814, to March 4, 1815
Henry Clay	Kentucky	14th	Dec. 4, 1815, to March 4, 1817
"	"	15th	Dec. 1, 1817, to March 4, 1819
"	"	16th	Dec. 6, 1819, to May 15, 1820
John W. Taylor	New York, second session.	16th	Nov. 15, 1820, to March 4, 1821
Philip P. Barbour	Virginia	17th	Dec. 4, 1821, to March 4, 1823
Henry Clay	Kentucky	18th	Dec. 1, 1823, to March 4, 1825
John W. Taylor	New York	19th	Dec. 5, 1825, to March 4, 1827
Andrew Stephenson	Virginia	20th	Dec. 3, 1827, to March 4, 1829
"	"	21st	Dec. 7, 1829, to March 4, 1831
"	"	22d	Dec. 5, 1831, to March 4, 1833
"	"	23d	Dec. 2, 1833, to June 2, 1834
John Bell	Tennessee, second session.	23d	June 2, 1834, to March 4, 1835

James K. Polk	Tennessee second session.	24th Congress	Dec.	7, 1835,	to March 4, 1837
"	"	25th	Sept.	5, 1837,	to March 4, 1839
Robert M. T. Hunter	Virginia.	26th	Dec.	16, 1839,	to March 4, 1841
John White	Kentucky	27th	May	31, 1841,	to March 4, 1843
John W. Jones	Virginia.	28th	Dec.	4, 1843,	to March 4, 1845
John W. Davis	Indiana.	29th	Dec.	1, 1845,	to March 4, 1847
Robert C. Winthrop	Massachusetts	30th	Dec.	6, 1847,	to March 4, 1849
Howell Cobb	Georgia.	31st	Dec.	22, 1849,	to March 4, 1851
Linn Boyd	Kentucky	32d	Dec.	1, 1851,	to March 4, 1853
"	"	33d	Dec.	5, 1853,	to March 4, 1855
Nathaniel P. Banks	Massachusetts	34th	Feb.	2, 1856,	to March 4, 1857
James L. Orr	South Carolina	35th	Dec.	7, 1857,	to March 4, 1859
William Pennington	New Jersey	36th	Feb.	1, 1860,	to March 4, 1861
Galusha A. Grow	Pennsylvania	37th	July	4, 1861,	to March 4, 1863
Schuyler Colfax	Indiana	38th	Dec.	7, 1863,	to March 4, 1865
"	"	39th	Dec.	4, 1865,	to March 4, 1867
"	"	40th	March	4, 1867,	to March 4, 1869
James G. Blaine	Maine.	41st	March	4, 1869,	to March 4, 1871
"	"	42d	March	4, 1871,	to March 4, 1873
"	"	43d	Dec.	1, 1873,	to March 4, 1875
Michael C. Kerr	Indiana	44th	Dec.	6, 1875,	to Aug. 20, 1876
Samuel J. Randall	Pennsylvania, second session.	44th	Dec.	4, 1876,	to March 4, 1877
"	"	45th	Oct.	15, 1877,	to March 4, 1879
"	"	46th	March	18, 1879,	to March 4, 1881
Warren B. Keifer	Ohio.	47th	Dec.	5, 1881,	to March 4, 1883
John G. Carlisle	Kentucky	48th	Dec.	5, 1883,	to March 4, 1885

STATEMENT SHOWING THE EXPENDITURES,

As far as ascertained, necessarily growing out of the War of the Rebellion,
from July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1870, inclusive.

APPROPRIATION.	Gross Expenditure.	Expenditure other than for the war.	Expenditure growing out of the war.
Expenses of national loans and currency.....	\$ 51,522,730 77		\$ 51,522,730 77
Premiums.....	59,738,167 73		59,738,167 73
Interest on public debt.....	1,809,301,485 19	\$ 45,045,286 74	1,764,256,198 45
Expenses of collecting revenue from customs.....	99,690,808 31	57,151,550 14	42,539,257 87
Judgment of Court of Claims. Payments of judgments Court of Alabama Claims.....	5,516,260 75	551,626 07	4,964,634 68
Salaries and expenses of Southern Claims Com'n.....	9,315,753 19		9,315,753 19
Salaries and expenses of Am. and Brit. Claims Com'n.....	371,321 82		371,321 82
Award to British claimants Tribunal of arbitration at Geneva.....	295,878 54		295,878 54
Salaries and expenses of Alabama Claims Com'n.....	1,929,819 00		1,929,819 00
Salaries and contingent expenses of Pension Office.....	244,815 40		244,815 40
Salaries and contingent expenses of War Department.	253,231 12		253,231 12
Salaries and contingent expenses of Ex. Dept. (exclusive of Pension Office and War Department.....)	7,095,968 05	1,870,180 00	5,225,788 05
Expenses of assessing and collecting internal revenue.....	15,331,956 58	2,712,693 79	12,619,262 79
Miscellaneous accounts.....	33,944,017 67	10,110,745 70	23,833,271 97
Subsistence of the army.....	112,803,841 31		112,803,841 31
Quartermaster's Department. Incidental expenses of Quartermaster's Department.....	2,664,199 82	456,714 21	2,207,485 61
Transportation of officers and their baggage.....	420,041,037 75	38,623,489 17	381,417,548 58
Clothing of the army.....	357,518,966 61	58,037,048 95	299,481,917 63
Purchase of horses for cavalry and artillery.....	101,528,573 37	16,185,839 74	85,342,733 63
Barracks, quarters, etc.....	407,463,324 81	70,669,439 25	336,793,885 56
Heating and Cooking stoves.	4,626,219 66	1,601,000 00	3,025,219 66
Pay, mileage, general expenses etc., of the army.....	356,651,466 31	11,107,586 11	345,543,880 20
Pay of two and three years' volunteers.....	130,990,702 95	4,318,339 51	126,672,423 24
Pay of three months' volunteers.....	49,872,669 40	18,801,822 89	31,070,846 59
Pay, etc., of one hundred days' volunteers.....	487,881 45	39,150 00	448,731 45
Pay of militia and volunteers.	184,473,721 26	106,388,991 79	78,084,729 47
Pay, etc., to officers and men in Department of Missouri..	1,041,102,702 58		1,041,102,702 58
Pay and supplies of one hundred days' volunteers.....	866,305 41		866,305 41
Bounty to volunteers and regulars on enlistment.....	14,386,778 29		14,386,778 29
	6,126,952 65		6,126,952 65
	844,150 55		844,150 55
	4,824,877 68		4,824,877 68
	38,522,046 20		38,522,046 20

STATEMENT SHOWING THE EXPENDITURES—[Continued.]

APPROPRIATION.	Gross Expenditures.	Expenditure other than for the war.	Expenditure growing out of the war.
Bounty to volunteers, their widows and legal heirs	31,760,345 95	.....	31,760,345 95
Additional bounty act of July 28, 1866	69,998,786 71	.....	69,998,786 61
Collection and payment of bounty, etc., to colored soldiers, etc	268,158 11	.....	268,158 11
Reimbursing States for moneys expended for payment of military service of the United States	9,635,512 85	.....	9,635,512 85
Defraying expenses of minute-men and volunteers in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky	597,178 30	.....	597,178 30
Refunding to States expenses incurred on account of volunteers	31,297,242 60	.....	31,297,242 60
Reimbursements to Baltimore for aid in construction of defensive works in 1863	96,152 00	.....	96,152 00
Payment to members of certain military organizations in Kansas	296,097 28	.....	296,097 28
Expenses of recruiting	2,568,639 91	1,270,673 56	1,297,966 35
Draft and substitute fund	9,713,873 13	.....	9,713,873 13
Medical and Hospital Depart. Medical and Surgical History and Statistics	46,954,146 83	1,845,376 47	45,108,770 36
Medical Museum and Library	196,048 32	.....	196,048 32
Providing for comfort of sick, wounded and discharged soldiers	55,000 00	.....	55,000 00
Freedmen's Hospital and Asylum	2,232,785 12	.....	2,232,785 12
Artificial limbs and appliances	123,487 49	.....	123,487 49
Ordnance service	509,283 21	.....	509,283 21
Ordnance, ordnance stores and supplies	6,114,533 38	1,561,001 67	4,553,531 71
Armament of fortifications	59,798,079 70	3,834,146 87	55,963,932 83
National armories, arsenals, etc	12,336,710 88	2,118,238 79	10,218,472 09
Purchase of arms for volunteers and regulars	29,730,717 53	6,127,228 21	23,603,489 32
Traveling expenses of First Michigan Cavalry and California and Nevada Volunteers	76,378,935 13	.....	76,378,935 13
Payment of expenses under reconstruction acts	84,131 50	.....	84,131 50
Secret Service	3,128,905 94	.....	3,128,905 94
Books of Tactics	681,587 42	.....	681,587 42
Medals of Honor	172,568 15	.....	172,568 15
Support of National Home for disabled volunteer soldiers	29,890 00	.....	29,890 00
Publication of official records of war of the rebellion	8,546,184 76	.....	8,546,184 76
Contingencies of the Army and Adjutant General's Depart.	170,998 98	.....	170,998 98
Payments under special acts of relief	3,291,830 14	565,136 39	2,726,698 75
Copying official reports	1,088,406 83	.....	1,088,406 83
	5,000 00	.....	5,000 00

STATEMENT SHOWING THE EXPENDITURES—[Continued.]

APPROPRIATION.	Gross Expenditures.	Expenditure other than for the war.	Expenditure growing out of the war.
Expenses of Court of Inquiry in 1868 and 1869.....	5,000 00	.....	5,000 00
United States police for Balt..	100,000 00	.....	100,000 00
Preparing register of volunteers.....	1,015 45	.....	1,015 45
Army pensions.....	437,744,192 80	30,315,000 00	407,429,192 80
Telegraph for military purposes.....	2,500,085 80	.....	2,500,085 80
Maintenance of gunboat fleet proper.....	5,244,684 32	.....	5,244,684 32
Keeping, transporting and supplying prisoners of war.	7,659,411 60	.....	7,659,411 60
Permanent forts and fortifications; surveys for military defenses; contingencies of fortifications; platform for cannon of large calibre, etc., from 1862-68.....	20,887,756 96	7,483,765 87	13,403,991 09
Construction and maintenance of steam rams.....	1,370,730 42	.....	1,370,730 42
Signal Service.....	222,269 79	78,472 23	143,797 56
Gunboats on Western rivers..	3,239,314 18	.....	3,239,314 18
Supplying, transporting and delivering arms and munitions of war to loyal citizens in States in rebellion against the Government of the United States.....	1,649,596 57	.....	1,649,596 57
Collecting, organizing and drilling volunteers.....	29,091,666 57	.....	29,091,666 57
Bridge-trains and equipage...	1,413,701 75	.....	1,413,701 75
Tool and siege trains.....	702,250 00	.....	702,250 00
Completing the defenses of Washington.....	912,283 01	.....	912,283 01
Commutations of rations to prisoners of war in rebel States.....	320,636 62	.....	320,636 62
National cemeteries.....	4,162,848 39	.....	4,162,848 39
Purchase of Ford's Theatre...	88,000 00	.....	88,000 00
Temporary relief to destitute people in Dist. of Columbia.	57,000 00	.....	57,000 00
Headstones, erection of headstones, pay of Superintendents, and moving the remains of officers to national cemeteries.....	1,080,185 54	.....	1,080,185 54
State of Tennessee for keeping and maintaining United States military prisoners....	22,749 49	.....	22,749 49
Capture of Jeff. Davis.....	97,031 62	.....	97,031 62
Removing wreck of gunboat Oregon in Chefunct River, Louisiana.....	5,500 00	.....	5,500 00
Support of Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen.....	11,454,237 30	.....	11,454,237 30
Claims for quartermaster's stores and commis. supplies.	850,220 91	.....	850,220 91
Miscellaneous claims audited by Third Auditor.....	94,223 11	47,112 11	47,111 00
Claims of loyal citizens for supplies furnished during the rebellion.....	4,170,304 54	.....	4,170,304 54

STATEMENT SHOWING THE EXPENDITURES--[Continued.]

APPROPRIATION.	Gross Expenditures.	Expenditure other than for the war.	Expenditure growing out of the war.
Payment for use of Corcoran Art Gallery.....	125,000 00	.....	125,000 00
Expenses of sales of stores and material.....	5,842 43	.....	5,842 43
Transportation of insane volunteer soldiers.....	1,000 00	.....	1,000 00
Horses and other property lost in military service.....	4,231,724 91	.....	4,231,724 91
Purchase of cemetery grounds near Columbus, Ohio.....	500 00	.....	500 00
Fortifications on the Northern Frontier.....	683,748 12	.....	683,748 12
Pay of the Navy.....	144,549,073 96	70,086,769 62	74,462,304 34
Provisions of the Navy.....	32,771,931 16	16,403,307 34	16,368,623 82
Clothing of the Navy.....	2,709,491 98	1,114,701 00	1,594,790 98
Construction and repair.....	170,007,781 25	35,829,684 80	134,178,096 65
Equipment of vessels.....	25,174,614 53	.....	25,174,614 53
Ordnance.....	38,063,357 67	6,641,263 30	31,422,094 37
Surgeons' necessaries.....	2,178,769 74	241,025 68	1,937,744 06
Yards and docks.....	33,638,156 59	3,337,854 52	30,300,302 07
Fuel for the Navy.....	19,952,754 36	8,612,521 68	11,340,232 68
Hemp for the Navy.....	2,836,916 69	1,938,664 42	898,252 27
Steam machinery.....	49,297,318 57	.....	49,297,318 57
Navigation.....	2,526,247 00	.....	2,526,247 00
Naval hospitals.....	875,452 34	375,789 40	499,662 94
Magazines.....	753,822 13	349,290 48	404,531 65
Marine corps, pay, clothing, etc.....	16,726,906 00	8,969,290 82	7,757,615 18
Naval Academy.....	2,640,440 87	778,308 86	1,862,132 01
Naval Asylum, Philadelphia..	652,049 89	65,394 00	586,655 89
Temporary increase of the Navy.....	8,123,766 21	.....	8,123,766 21
Miscellaneous appropriations.	2,614,044 77	.....	2,614,044 77
Naval pensions.....	7,540,043 00	950,000 00	6,590,043 00
Bounties to seamen.....	2,821,530 10	.....	2,821,530 10
Bounty for destruction of enemy's vessels.....	271,309 28	.....	271,309 28
Indemnity for lost clothing...	389,025 33	.....	389,025 33
Total expenditures.....	\$6,844,571,431 03	\$ 654,641,522 45	\$6,189,929,908 58

NOTE.—Only the appropriations from which war expenditures were made are included in the above.

SUMMARY OF POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1789 to 1880.

Year.	Number of States.	Total Electoral Vote.	Party.	For President.	States.	Popular Vote.	Electoral Vote.	For Vice-President.	Electoral Vote.
1789	10	73		George Washington. John Adams. John Jay. R. R. Harrison. John Rutledge. John Hancock. George Clinton. Samuel Huntington. John Milton. Benjamin Lincoln. James Armstrong. Edward Telfair. Vacancies			69 34 9 6 4 4 3 22 2 1 1 1 4		
1792	15	135	Federalist. Federalist. Republican Republican	George Washington. John Adams. George Clinton. Thomas Jefferson. Aaron Burr Vacancies			132 77 50 4 4 1 3		
1796	16	138	Federalist. Republican Federalist. Republican	John Adams. Thomas Jefferson. Thomas Pinckney Aaron Burr Samuel Adams Oliver Ellsworth George Clinton. John Jay. James Iredell. George Washington. John Henry S. Johnson Charles C. Pinckney.			71 68 59 30 15 11 7 6 3 2 2 2 1		

SUMMARY OF POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES.—Continued.

Year.	Number of States.	Total Electoral Vote.	Party.	For President.	States.	Popular Vote.	Electoral Vote.	For Vice-President.	Electoral Vote.
1832	288	24	Democratic	Andrew Jackson	15	687,502	219	Martin Van Buren	189
			Nat. Republican	Henry Clay	7	530,189	49	John Sergeant	49
			Anti-Mason	William Wirt	1	33,108	7	Amos Ellmaker	7
				John Floyd	1		11	Henry Lee	11
				Vacancies				William Wilkins	30
1836	26	294	Democratic	Martin Van Buren	15	761,549	2	R. M. Johnson	147
			Whig	Wm. H. Harrison	7		73	Francis Granger	77
				Hugh L. White	2		26	John Tyler	47
				Daniel Webster	1	736,656	14	William Smith	23
				W. P. Mangum	1		11		
1840	26	294	Whig	Wm. H. Harrison	19	1,275,017	234	John Tyler	234
			Democratic	Martin Van Buren	7	1,128,702	60	R. M. Johnson	48
			Liberty	James G. Birney		7,059			
1844	26	275	Democratic	James K. Polk	15	1,337,243		D. W. Tazewell	11
			Whig	Henry Clay	11	1,296,068	170	James K. Polk	1
			Liberty	James G. Birney		62,300	105	Geo. M. Dallas	170
				Zachary Taylor				T. Frelinghuysen	105
				Lewis Cass	15	1,300,101	163	Millard Fillmore	163
1848	30	290	Democratic	Martin Van Buren	15	1,220,544	127	Wm. O. Butler	127
			Free Soil	Franklin Pierce		291,203		Chas. F. Adams	
			Democratic	Winfield Scott	27	1,601,474	254	Wm. R. King	254
1852	31	296	Whig	John P. Hale	4	1,386,578	43	Wm. A. Graham	42
			Free Democracy	James Buchanan	19	156,149		Geo. W. Julian	
			Democratic	John C. Fremont	11	1,838,169	174	J. C. Breckinridge	174
1856	31	296	Republican	Millard Fillmore	11	1,341,264	114	Wm. L. Dayton	114
			American	Abraham Lincoln	1	874,534	8	A. J. Donelson	8
			Republican	J. C. Breckinridge	17	1,866,352	180	Hannibal Hamlin	180
1860	33	303	Democratic	S. A. Douglas	11	845,763	72	Joseph Lane	72
			Democratic		2	1,375,157	12	H. V. Johnson	12

1864	36	314	"Const. Union " Republican Democratic	John Bell Abraham Lincoln Geo. B. McClellan Vacancies*	3 22 3 11	589,581 2,216,067 1,808,725	39 212 21	Edward Everett Andrew Johnson Geo. H. Pendleton	39 212 21
1868	37	317	Republican Democratic	Ulysses S. Grant Horatio Seymour Vacancies†	26 8 3	3,015,071 2,709,613	214 80 23	Schuyler Colfax F. P. Blair, Jr.	214 80 23
1872	37	366	Republican Dem. and Lib. Rep. Democratic Temperance	Ulysses S. Grant Horace Greeley Chas. O'Connor James Black T. A. Hendricks B. Gratz Brown Chas. J. Jenkins David Davis	31 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	3,597,070 2,634,079 29,408 5,608	286 23 23 42 18 2 1	Henry Wilson B. Gratz Brown John Q. Adams A. H. Colquhoun John M. Palmer Geo. W. Julian T. E. Bramlette W. S. Groesbeck Willis B. Machen N. P. Banks	286 23 23 42 18 2 1
1876	38	369	Republican Democratic "Greenback " "Prohibition " Republican Democratic "Greenback "	Not counted‡ R. B. Hayes S. J. Tilden Peter Cooper Green C. Smith James A. Garfield W. S. Hancock James B. Weaver Scattering	21 17 17 19 19 19 19	4,033,950 4,284,865 81,740 9,522 4,442,950 4,442,035 306,867 12,576	17 185 184 184 214 155	Wm. A. Wheeler T. A. Hendricks S. F. Cary R. T. Stewart Chester A. Arthur Wm. H. English B. J. Chambers	17 185 184 184 214 155
1880	38	369	Republican Democratic "Greenback "	James A. Garfield W. S. Hancock James B. Weaver Scattering	19 19 19 19	4,442,950 4,442,035 306,867 12,576	214 155	Wm. A. Wheeler T. A. Hendricks S. F. Cary R. T. Stewart Chester A. Arthur Wm. H. English B. J. Chambers	214 155

* Not voting—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

† Not voting—Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

‡ Seventeen votes rejected, viz: 3 from Georgia for Horace Greeley (dead), and 8 from Louisiana, and 6 from Arkansas for U. S. Grant.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

No.	Names.	Born.	Inaugurated.	Term of Office.	Died.	Native of	Residence when Elected.	Political Party.
1	George Washington	Feb. 22, 1732	April 30, 1789	8 years	Dec. 14, 1799	Virginia.	Virginia.	Federal.
2	John Adams	Oct. 30, 1735	March 4, 1797	4 years	July 4, 1826	Mass.	Mass.	"
3	Thos. Jefferson	April 2, 1743	" 4, 1801	8 years	July 4, 1826	Virginia.	Virginia.	{ Dem. Rep.
4	James Madison	Mar. 16, 1751	" 4, 1809	8 years	June 28, 1837	"	"	"
5	James Monroe	April 28, 1759	" 4, 1817	8 years	July 4, 1831	"	"	"
6	John Q. Adams	July 11, 1767	" 4, 1825	4 years	Feb. 23, 1847	Mass.	Mass.	{ National Rep. Dem.
7	Andrew Jackson	Mar. 15, 1767	" 4, 1829	8 years	June 8, 1845	S. Car.	Tenn.	"
8	Martin Van Buren	Dec. 5, 1782	" 4, 1837	4 years	July 24, 1862	New York	New York	"
9	Wm. H. Harrison	Feb. 9, 1773	" 4, 1841	1 month	April 4, 1841	Virginia.	Ohio.	Whig.
10	John Tyler	Mar. 29, 1790	April 6, 1841	3 yrs. 11 months	Jan. 17, 1862	"	Virginia.	"
11	James Knox Polk	Nov. 2, 1795	March 4, 1845	4 years	June 15, 1849	N. Car.	Tenn.	Dem.
12	Zachary Taylor	Nov. 24, 1784	" 4, 1849	1 yr. 4 mos.	July 9, 1850	Virginia.	Louisiana	Whig.
13	Millard Fillmore	Jan. 7, 1800	July 9, 1850	2 yrs. 8 mos.	Mar. 8, 1874	New York	New York	"
14	Franklin Pierce	Nov. 23, 1804	March 4, 1853	4 years	Oct. 8, 1869	N. Hamp.	N. Hamp.	Dem.
15	James Buchanan	April 23, 1791	" 4, 1857	4 years	June 1, 1868	Penn.	Penn.	"
16	Abraham Lincoln	Feb. 12, 1809	" 4, 1861	4 yrs. 40 days	April 15, 1865	Ky.	Illinois.	Rep.
17	Andrew Johnson	Dec. 29, 1808	April 15, 1865	3 yrs. 10½ mos.	July 31, 1875	N. Car.	Tenn.	"
18	Ulysses S. Grant	April 27, 1822	March 4, 1869	4 years	.....	Ohio.	Illinois.	"
19	Ruthf'd B. Hayes	Oct. 4, 1822	" 5, 1877	4 yrs.	.....	Vermont.	Ohio.	"
20	James A. Garfield	Nov. 19, 1831	" 4, 1881	6½ months	.....	Ohio.	"	"
21	Chester A. Arthur	Oct. 5, 1830	Sept. 20, 1881	Not expired	.....	Vermont.	New York	"





